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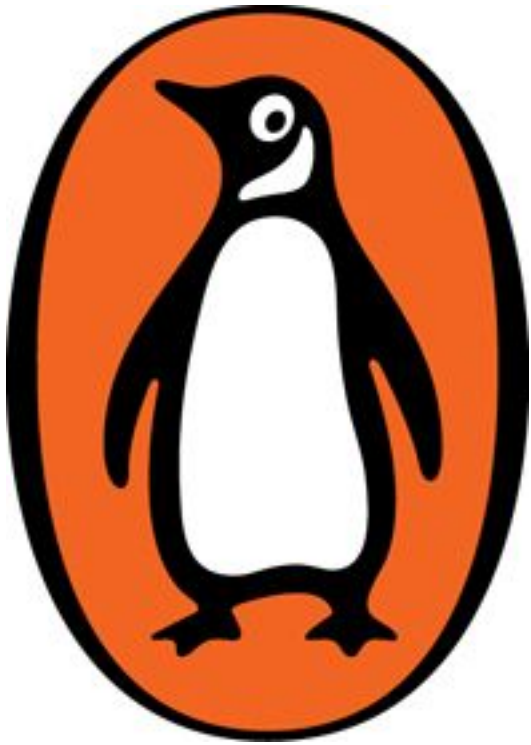
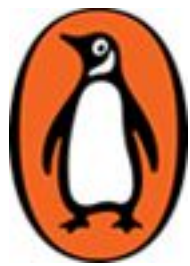


Thomas of Monmouth

THE LIFE AND PASSION OF WILLIAM OF NORWICH

Translated and Edited by Miri Rubin



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THE LIFE AND PASSION OF WILLIAM OF NORWICH

THOMAS OF MONMOUTH was a monk in Norwich Cathedral Priory in the mid-twelfth century, but nothing more is known about his life.

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For Christopher Brooke

Introduction

HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Tales in which Jews are the abusers or killers of Christian children appear in the most unexpected places. Around 1389 the poet Geoffrey Chaucer (*c*. 1343–1400) has his Prioress, one of the Canterbury pilgrims, recount a horrific tale in which a Jew slits the throat of a singing schoolboy. The story is all the more horrific because it is told by a lady of refinement and piety; it is also all the more consoling because the boy miraculously continues to sing in praise of the Virgin Mary, even from his bleeding throat, from the depths of the privy into which he has been thrown. In 'The Prioress's Tale' Chaucer elegantly combines two powerful narrative strands of medieval religious culture: child murder by Jews and miracles of the Virgin Mary.[1] As the Prioress completes her tale, Chaucer stages her appeal to a boy long dead:

> O yonge Hugh of Lyncoln, slayn also
> With cursed Jewes, as it is notable,
> For it is but a litel while ago,
> Preye eek for us, we synful folk unstable,
> That, of his mercy, God so merciable
> On us his grete mercy multiplie,
> For reverence of his mooder Marie. Amen.

The Jews were accused of the killing of Hugh of Lincoln in 1255, after the boy went missing. Following the accusation by the boy's mother and the efforts of John of Lexington, King Henry III's steward, the Jew Copin of Lincoln was tried, made to confess, then dragged through Lincoln by horse to a place where he was hanged. Henry III's visit to Lincoln lent the affair authority and prominence; the trial and execution in London of eighteen other Jews of Lincoln followed.[2] The case of Hugh of Lincoln (whose body was eventually found down a well) was promoted by the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral, whose members had the boy buried near the sainted Bishop Robert Grosseteste (1175–1253) and promoted his cult. This became a highly public affair, much reported by chroniclers, and made even more

popular through the French ballade it inspired,[3] so that a century and a half later Chaucer was able to invoke it, spoken by his Prioress.

However, the first known accusation of a Jew murdering a child was made more than a century earlier in the English city of Norwich in 1144 and it contained many of the ingredients that would combine so fatefully in Lincoln. The body of a twelve-year-old boy called William was discovered in a wood outside the city. His relatives claimed he had been murdered by Jews. Following an appeal to the bishop, the sheriff was summoned to answer for the king's Jews, who were in his charge. He must have been able to protect the Jews, since we hear of no trial or reprisals against them. William was buried outside the cathedral and achieved a limited fame. A few years later, around 1150, a more purposeful narrative about his death began to develop: the earlier parts of *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich*, composed by the monk Thomas of Monmouth. The *Life and Passion* claims that every year around Passover Jews seek to identify, entrap, torture and kill a Christian child. This new idea gained some credence over the following decades in England and beyond.

Circulated in Latin and later in the European vernaculars, versions of the story first told in the *Life and Passion* had a lasting and damaging effect. It was sometimes used as the basis for accusations against whole Jewish communities. In every century since it appeared it has been adapted and reused, right up to its grotesque appropriation by the Nazis.[4]

The *Life and Passion* combines two cultural themes: the innocence of children and the imputed evil intent of Jews towards Christians, particularly their desire to re-enact the Crucifixion. In later centuries other fantasies were added to the child-murder narrative: it was said that Jews used Christian blood for baking matzo, the Passover bread; or that they circumcised the Christian child before bleeding it to death, and so on. But these ideas were the product of other times and other places. Such notions – which came into play with great inventiveness during a child-murder trial at Trent in 1475 – share some of the elements that characterized accusations against witches in the later Middle Ages, and sometimes Jews were tried by the very same inquisitors.[5]

Of all the accusations brought against Jews, child murder was the most horrific. Over the centuries many Christian writers included such tales in their polemics against Jews and Judaism.[6] Catholic and Protestant writers (mostly clergymen) compiled lists in Latin and in vernacular languages of abuses by Jews. Sometimes these writings

informed the composition of sermons or the iconography of works of art and thereby fed the popular imagination. In the nineteenth century a more diverse group of writers contributed to the discussion, and this is when Jewish historians began to subject these accusations to proper scrutiny.

With the discovery of *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich* and its publication in 1896 by Cambridge University Press[7] a new stage in the study of the child-murder accusation began.[8] The text was ignored by historians of medieval England,[9] but it proved useful to those studying Jewish history. This was still a relatively new subject, emerging in the mid-nineteenth century from academic circles in Central Europe. History, literature and philosophy merged in a new discipline: the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (Jewish Studies), which was influenced by general trends in academic scholarship.[10] One of its aims was to establish 'empirical' truth in place of the myths and apologetics which had for so long prevailed in the telling of Jewish history.[11] In *A History of the Jews in England* (1941) Cecil Roth makes use of the *Life and Passion*, interpreting the murder of William as an unintended result of the rituals of the Jewish festival of Purim.[12] Roth had lived through the cause célèbre of Menahem Mendel Beilis, a Jew accused of killing a Christian child in Kiev in 1911,[13] and he was also writing at a time – the 1930s and 1940s – when Jews were being abused and massacred all over Europe.

Interest in the case of William of Norwich increased in the 1970s as social historians recognized that hagiographical works like the *Life and Passion* are rich in details of social and religious life. In his study of pilgrimage Ronald Finucane analysed the miracles reported at William's shrine, examining local patterns of pilgrimage and the nature of the ailments the boy saint is supposed to have cured.[14] Yet it was Gavin Langmuir, an historian of the Capetian dynasty turned historian of Jewish life in England and France, who brought the *Life and Passion* into the mainstream of medieval history. Langmuir approached it as a work of imagination and invention.[15] He identified the strategies Thomas of Monmouth uses to present himself as a reliable authority – indeed, as a detective hunting down a killer. Following Langmuir's lead (and sometimes disputing his findings) historians have continued to refine our understanding of the *Life and Passion*. John McCulloh's work has been particularly helpful in evaluating the Continental evidence and in assessing the degree to which knowledge of William of Norwich spread beyond the Channel before Thomas of Monmouth started to write about him around

1150.[16] Other approaches to the *Life and Passion* have been more literary, paying particular attention to cultural diversity in twelfth-century Norwich, and to the theme of innocence and childhood in the devotional sensibilities of the period.[17]

When studying long-term trends in Christians' ideas about Jews, historians vary in how much weight they give to context and contingency.[18] Israel Yuval has emphasized the mirror-like, even reciprocal nature of Jewish–Christian attitudes, as a set of ingrained assumptions always tested by each group against its views of the other. Yuval suggests that twelfth-century prejudice against the Jews of Europe may have developed out of violent encounters, beginning with the pogroms of the Rhineland in 1096, when Jews publicly chose death for themselves and their children over conversion or death at the hand of crusading armies and local communities.[19] In *Christ Killers* Jeremy Cohen explains the child-murder accusation and its subsequent elaborations as ritual murder – drawing on the use of blood in Jewish rituals, especially at Passover – as a way of giving substance to the idea of Jewish guilt, long embedded in the Gospels.[20] Ronnie Hsia noted a decline in accusations of ritual murder in Protestant Europe,[21] while they lingered in Catholic regions and resurfaced in the nineteenth century. In modern times the stories of child murder were reborn with the rise of radical nationalism in search of an 'Other' to denounce and destroy; this is when such ideas spread beyond Europe to other continents and cultures.[22]

The *Life and Passion* is an attempt to apportion blame and to make a link between mythical time – the time of the Passion of Christ – with the medieval present. We approach the book all too aware of the terrible consequences of such narratives. Yet historians must wear this knowledge lightly, lest we confuse Thomas of Monmouth's intentions with events that occurred much later.

THOMAS OF MONMOUTH

This is a new translation of the *Vita et passio Willelmi Norwicensis*. It tells the story of the life and martyrdom of William, a twelve-year-old boy, and records the miracles which took place at his tomb or by invocation from afar over subsequent years until 1173. The author, Thomas of Monmouth, was a monk in Norwich Cathedral Priory. He aims to persuade his fellow monks, as well as the people of Norwich and the region, that William was murdered by local Jews on behalf of Jews everywhere. Thomas presents William as a martyr, someone

killed for their faith. But what persuaded him to write the *Life and Passion* some six years after the boy's death?

The name Thomas of Monmouth (*Thomas Monemutensis*)[23] suggests that he came from Monmouth in South Wales, perhaps becoming a member of the local Benedictine monastery.[24] Although they were obliged to remain permanently in one location (*stabilitas loci* was an aspect of their monastic discipline), it was not unknown for Benedictine monks to travel for the purpose of study or on missions on behalf of their house, the king or the Pope. If Thomas was indeed born and educated in South Wales, he may have been familiar with the traditions of creative forgery and fiction which several Welsh writers developed so effectively in the twelfth century, in particular Geoffrey of Monmouth (d. 1155).

Geoffrey was the foremost British historian of the twelfth century in terms of popularity and fame, though he was not without detractors.[25] He is associated with the schools at Oxford, where he studied as a secular clerk. Geoffrey's colleague Caradoc of Llancarfan specialized in writing fictitious hagiography, as did the anonymous author of the Book of Llandaff.[26] In fact, the monks of South Wales in the decades just before and during Thomas's life were accomplished at the art of forgery and invention. South Wales was also home to a number of dependencies of Gloucester, another important centre for forgery, not least from 1139 under Abbot Gilbert Foliot.[27] Thomas may also have spent time in Oxford on a journey east, which ultimately brought him to Norwich.

Thomas tells us a great deal about the life of William, whom he had never met, but he divulges very little about his own background. This is in contrast to his treatment of even the lowliest villager in his accounts of miracles, for whom he usually provides a name, details of parentage and a place of residence. Thomas's life acquired meaning, it seems, when he found his true vocation: to be William's *secretarius*, the man who initiated the boy's cult.[28] The only other thing we learn about Thomas is that he lost – and later found with William's help – a book of psalms (p. 132), which he had copied for his own use.

Nevertheless, Thomas's writing style offers us some clues about the life he may have led before becoming the author of the *Life and Passion*. His work on the story of William of Norwich probably spanned the prime of his life as a monk. He was active between 1150 and late 1173 (the *Life and Passion* is dedicated to William Turbe (*c.* 1095–1174), Bishop of Norwich). Thomas mentions no family or friends, but his fellow monks of the Cathedral Priory do enter his

narrative, some with approval, others the subject of criticism, depending on whether they promoted or discouraged the cult of William of Norwich.[29]

The style of the *Life and Passion* also indirectly reveals the cultural milieu within which Thomas developed and worked. He was familiar with scripture, had a reasonable command of Latin grammar and was schooled in the art of rhetoric.[30] There were tens of schools in twelfth-century England where he might have studied: in London or Oxford, in cathedral cities and in ports.[31] If Thomas had been offered to a monastery at an early age – as an oblate (literally, a gift), as was still common in the early twelfth century – then he would have benefited from the long and thorough Latin education provided to oblates and novices.[32] Men recruited at a later age probably never quite caught up with those who had been offered as boys. Thomas's range of biblical and classical references, and his care with grammar and syntax, as well as the occasional use of quite sophisticated vocabulary, suggest that he had a good Latin education, which was available in monastic and secular settings.

Monastic libraries like the one in Norwich Cathedral Priory possessed standard Christian texts, such as Augustine's and Jerome's commentaries on the Psalms, Augustine's commentary on the Gospel of John, Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* and the works of Bede.[33] Alongside biblical citation, Thomas had occasional – often highly artful – recourse to classical authors, such as Virgil and Horace.[34] In terms of his range of interests and vocabulary his style is close to that of Henry of Huntingdon (?1084–1155), Archdeacon of Huntingdon in the diocese of Lincoln.[35]

In his Prologue to the *Life and Passion* Thomas displays his rhetorical craft to the full.[36] Latin prologues were at the time highly stylized confections, composed of standard tropes that were taught as part of the Latin educational curriculum. The prologue usually addresses the patron and imagined readers, seeking to inspire in them a favourable attitude to the work: Quintilian (*c*. 35–*c*. 100) called this *captatio benevolentiae* ('an attempt to get goodwill') and Augustine (354–430) used it to good effect. In their prologues authors often anticipate possible shortcomings and inadequacies in what is to follow; they present their work as being written under duress or at the insistence of others – in Thomas's case, his fellow monks.[37] After more than two decades of compilation and writing, he assumes a modest tone, asking forbearance of his readers and offering a section-by-section itinerary of his book (pp. 6–7).

Much that is described in the *Life and Passion* seems incredible and unsubstantiated, but Thomas tries to maintain a certain standard of reliability. He repeatedly asserts the truth of his facts and the cogency of his arguments. By the time he was composing the later entries in his book, eyewitness verification had become widely expected as a criterion for credibility in historical and hagiographical works.[38] It became part of the hagiographical conventions known throughout the Christian world and particular to the English style. Unable to offer an eyewitness account, Thomas falls back on his own authority born of pious intention.

CONTENTS AND PURPOSE

Why did the first account of child murder by Jews appear in twelfth-century Norwich? The Jews arrived in England with the Norman Conquest in 1066 and in significant numbers after the pogroms of 1096 in the Rhineland and northern France. In Norwich their presence is documented from the 1130s and they formed a community of some 200 people.[39] The Jews inhabited a space adjacent to the market, close to Norwich Castle and associated with the 'French' sector of the city; indeed, they are more likely to have spoken French than English in their daily lives.[40]

The narrative of child murder crafted by Thomas of Monmouth was probably based on rumours that circulated soon after the discovery of William's body in 1144.[41] Thomas's approach is a novel interpretation of the character of contemporary Jews, drawing on traditional stories about ancient Jews, as conveyed in liturgy, biblical exegesis and preaching. This link between Jews past and Jews present had never before been so boldly attempted. Indeed, in the first three books of the *Life and Passion* his tone is above all polemical, animated by a desire to persuade those who are not convinced of his claim that the Jews of Norwich are bloodthirsty child-murderers.

According to Thomas's account, William of Norwich was born in the village of Haveringland (pp. 11–12), about fourteen kilometres north-west of Norwich, some three generations after the Norman Conquest. His parents have Anglo-Saxon names: Elviva and Wenstan (Old English: Aelfgifu and Wynstan). It is interesting, though not uncommon, that William and his brother Robert (who became a monk of Norwich Cathedral Priory) were given Norman names, as was their cousin Alexander.[42]

In the *Life and Passion* William is left dead in Thorpe Wood[43] on

Friday, 24 March 1144. This is Good Friday, which fell in the week of the Jewish festival of Passover. William's dead body was discovered on Saturday by two separate groups, the first led by Lady Legarda, a religious woman, and the second by Henry of Sprowston, a working man.

The pious Lady Legarda tended to the inmates of the St Mary Magdalene leper hospital in Thorpe Wood. The hospital's remains survive in Sprowston, some three kilometres along the road leading out of Norwich. Lady Legarda was with a group of lepers to whom she ministered when a vision of a fiery ladder appeared, leading from the boy's body up to heaven, and guided her to him. She saw extraordinary lights shining above the place where William lay (pp. 23–4). His body seemed unharmed and uncorrupted; even the ravens could not tear his flesh. She acknowledged a miracle, prayed in thanks and returned home. Lady Legarda was not a woman of the world, so she did not act in a worldly way.

However, the next witness to arrive on the scene was indeed a man of the world. Once a stable-worker for the Bishop of Norwich and now a forester, Henry of Sprowston entered Thorpe Wood on horseback on the lookout for unlawful clearances or woodcutting. He was told that a body had been found in the wood and soon came upon it. Henry saw that the boy was wounded and that some kind of wooden instrument of torture had been placed in his mouth. He is said to have noted that William had been tortured – and here Thomas interjects on behalf of Henry, observing that 'only a Jew would have taken it upon himself to kill the innocent in this way with such rash daring' (p. 25). Henry rushed to summon the priest of his parish of Sprowston, as well as members of his family. Following consultation, they decided to leave the boy until after Easter. They returned on Monday. Rumours spread in the city and throngs of interested people arrived, among them William's brother, uncle and cousin.

Henry of Sprowston's decision to bury the body in a shallow grave in the wood is decidedly odd. Following the Conquest some very clear rules had been established about the treatment of corpses, partly to protect those of Norman descent. The male population was bound together in sworn groups for mutual responsibility. Henry should have informed his fellow tithingmen, as well as the sheriff.[44] These rules would have been clear to anyone involved in administration, as Henry was. Thomas of Monmouth is silent on this breach of normal practice and uses the miraculous preservation of the boy's body as proof of his martyrdom.

William's relatives accused the Jews of his murder, but not everyone was persuaded. William's maternal uncle Godwin Sturt, a married priest,[45] approached the Easter synod in Norwich, presided over by Bishop Everard of Calne (p. 31), a gathering of the diocesan clergy and some dignitaries from further afield. He addressed the synod as an ecclesiastical court and claimed that the marks on William, as well as the miraculous circumstances associated with the finding of the body, pointed to the Jews as his killers.

The sheriff, John of Chesney,[46] who represented the secular royal interest in all matters related to the Jews of Norwich, was presented with the family's complaint, but as far as we know (and as Thomas disapprovingly reports) he initiated no legal proceedings. Bishop Everard deemed it wise to allow William's burial in the monks' cemetery, just east of the chancel, within the cathedral precinct.[47]

In twelfth-century England it was not uncommon for children to be venerated as saints after their death,[48] but the story of William of Norwich is unique. Thomas turned the murder of a twelve-year-old boy into an event of epic proportions, an attack on Christians and Christianity itself, a spiteful re-enactment of the Crucifixion.[49] His literary task was made challenging by the fact that he was not in Norwich in 1144, when the boy's body was found. Nevertheless, upon his arrival by 1150 Thomas clearly believed the family's claim that the Jews were responsible and that William was a martyr. By the time Thomas settled in Norwich there were reports and expectations of miraculous happenings associated with William's tomb in the monks' cemetery.[50]

News of William of Norwich may have even reached the Continent, as shown in some monastic calendars of saints' feast days from Bavaria in the 1140s.[51] The well-connected bishops of Norwich may have helped to spread the word: Bishop Everard retired to the Cistercian house of Fontenay in Burgundy, France, where he died, probably in 1149; his successor as bishop, Bishop Turbe, travelled twice to the Continent, to the papal councils of Reims (1148) and Tours (1163).[52]

The *Life and Passion* describes a martyrdom that Thomas of Monmouth had not witnessed, but which he was eager to promote. Indeed, he claims this cult of William of Norwich as his life's mission (p. 4). The *Life and Passion* greatly increased the fame of William of Norwich, but it also affected Norwich Cathedral and its members. It is dedicated to Bishop Turbe, who presided over the cathedral during most of the years covered by the book.[53] A local man, Turbe was

nurtured by the Norman Bishop of Norwich Herbert of Losinga (d. 1119), the founder of Norwich Cathedral. He rose through the ranks of the Cathedral Priory to which he had been offered at a young age.[54] Though never quite a high-flyer, Turbe achieved prominence within the English Church and served kings Stephen (*c*. 1097–1154) and Henry II (1133–89) as emissary to Church councils and popes, entrusted with tasks of arbitration and legal judgement; he was also a member of the circle close to Archbishop Thomas Becket (?1118–70).[55] It appears from the *Life and Passion* that Turbe welcomed the cult of William of Norwich as a timely addition to the cathedral's lore and a means of strengthening its claim to be at the head of Christian life in East Anglia.

It should be evident to the reader by now how difficult is any historical reading of the *Life and Passion* in that Thomas's account of the whole affair, though detailed and intricate, remains virtually the only historical source. No other Christian or Jewish contemporary accounts have survived, just the story as told by Thomas, himself writing several years after the discovery of William's body. The continuator of the Peterborough version of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, writing in Peterborough Abbey around 1154, reports the case of William of Norwich at the end of his entry for the year 1137. He must have relied on oral tradition or perhaps a version of the earlier sections of the *Life and Passion*.[56] Some of the facts can be surmised from later evidence, such as traces of cult locations in the cathedral or the liturgy used on William's feast day, which by the late thirteenth century was celebrated at Norwich Cathedral Priory on 24 March.[57]

The *Life and Passion* is divided into a prologue and seven books.[58]

Book One recounts the life, death and burial of William, from the portents that foretold his birth, through his innocent childhood, his abduction, killing, burial in the woods and discovery there; then on to the appeal to Bishop Everard, John the Sheriff's protection of the Jews and the transfer (technically known as a translation) of the body for burial in the monks' cemetery. This part may have circulated separately as a *Vita* or Life of William and may have influenced reports in chronicles.[59]

Book Two opens with an attack against those who disparage William: it recounts the miracles at the boy's tomb, as well as the dramatic death of John the Sheriff, protector of the Jews. This book is more polemical and disparages King Stephen, so it was probably written after the king's death in 1154.[60] In this book Thomas often refers to events recorded in Book One.[61]

Book Three recounts the translation of William's corpse to the priory's chapter house, and the subsequent miracles of healing, many of which occurred to laypeople associated with the cathedral. It describes the establishment of William's cult around 1150 and its enhancement following Prior Elias's death in that year.

Book Four recounts eighteen wonders, including a miracle at sea, and reveals conflict around the cult of William of Norwich over issues such as the manner of veneration and access to relics.

Book Five begins with the translation of William's body from the chapter house to the area of the altar within the cathedral on 3 July 1151. This book recounts twenty-two miracles experienced by local people and one miracle that happened to a man from Lincolnshire.

Book Six begins with the last translation of William's body to a chapel north of the chancel in Norwich Cathedral in April 1154. The miracles that follow involve some prominent figures, such as the daughter of Reginald de Warenne (d. 1179), and a knight from the archbishopric of Trier.

Book Seven continues with accounts of miracles, some dating to the 1160s and early 1170s, including a miracle wrought with St Edmund, and one which occurred after an appeal to St Thomas Becket (who was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral in 1170). Near the end of this last book a letter of testimony from a monk of Pershore in Worcestershire is copied in, a testament to the spread of William's fame and efficacy. News of William of Norwich may have travelled by word of mouth or perhaps through the circulation of separate hagiographical sections like Book One.

The sections of the *Life and Passion* devoted to accounts of miracles – the largest part of the book – offer us descriptions of diseases, the lives of disabled people, relationships within families and communities, and of penitential pilgrimages. We can learn a great deal about the social and religious history of twelfth-century England from the *Life and Passion*, although some stories are more plausible than others.[62]

However, much of the interest of the *Life and Passion* lies in the power and poignancy of its narrative and in what it tells us about William's death and its significance. Thomas's account was received in a few other English Benedictine monastic houses, where similar complaints against Jews soon followed: Jews were accused of killing boys at Gloucester in 1168 and at Bury St Edmunds in 1181, but these attempts led to no concerted action and left little mark on local devotional life.[63] Cistercian religious houses also helped to spread the

story of William of Norwich; to judge by our manuscript's script and decoration, it was probably copied in a Cistercian monastery. As we shall see, William was known by 1204 even in Froidmont in northern France, where he appeared as a visionary in a chronicle composed by the Cistercian monk Hélinand.[64]

THE FABRICATION OF JEWISH GUILT

When reading the *Life and Passion* it is useful to remember the linguistic legacy of the term *inventio*, its sense of 'finding'. *Inventio* was the process whereby a writer identified the template most suited to the writing task at hand, the appropriate frame within which an argument is to unfold (*dispositio*) and to which embellishment with stylistic ornament is to be added (*elocutio*).[65] One of Thomas of Monmouth's central preoccupations – especially in the earlier sections when telling the child-murder story – is chronology. A period of five or six years separated him from William's death, but once he began writing around 1150 he logged dates with the sort of detail that suggests he was consulting an almanac.

The *Life and Passion* includes a great deal of literary invention, too, usually to support the least knowable facts. For example, Thomas provides a backstory in which William had on occasion worked for Jews, until he was warned against doing so (pp. 13–14). Yet Thomas does not refer to this when he explains how William came to be in the Jews' house at the time of his death; rather, he creates an elaborate tale of seduction, whereby William's mother is persuaded to let her boy spend the days leading up to Easter not at the family home but working for the cook of the Archdeacon of Norwich. The tempter is an emissary of the Jews – or is he a Jew? – who entices the boy with the offer of a job. As to William's mother, the tempter persuades her to let her son go – at a price.

Thomas is at his inventive best in this scene of seduction, with its slapstick rhythm, a veritable tug of war over the boy.[66] William's mother is depicted as weak and gullible. Thomas likens her to a latter-day Judas, seduced by the payment of money to hand over her son; although rather than the biblical thirty pieces of silver, Thomas tells us she received three shillings.

This inventive section of the *Life and Passion* leads to the scene of the killing (pp. 16–18). Thomas describes William eating his meal in peace in the Jews' house, utterly without fear, when the Jews fall upon him, tie him up, inflict torments on his body and finally hang

him between the doorposts. Thomas describes the boy's torture in extraordinary detail. Some rope 'as thick as a little finger' is knotted in five places and tied around his head and neck in such a way that each knot presses hard on a tender spot: his forehead and temples, the nape and front of his neck. To add to the boy's suffering a 'teasel' is placed in his mouth. This could mean either the prickly head of a plant or the manufactured device which resembles it; here it clearly means the man-made version, which was used to finish woollen cloth.

This scene is the most elaborate, inventive and graphic in detail, and the richest in fateful resonances. Thomas draws parallels between the murder of William and the sufferings of Christ: both have been betrayed, tortured and killed by Jews full of hatred and contempt. The rope of five knots is reminiscent of the five wounds of Christ; the boy's head is pricked with thorns, reminiscent of the Crown of Thorns, which both tortured and mocked Christ. Perhaps the teasel's association with wool evokes the lamb of God or Christ the Shepherd, for in homes and workshops all over Norwich the wool of Norfolk sheep was made into yarn for weaving into cloth, then finished with the help of a teasel. And then after the torture comes the hanging between the doorposts. Here is a novel concoction of elements of the Crucifixion and its typology; it also evokes the sacrifices at the Temple which prefigured Christ's suffering on the Cross.[67]

The torture of William was extraordinary enough to impress a contemporary chronicler, the 'second continuator' of the Peterborough version of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Around 1154 he wrote about the previous two decades and began the entry for the year 1137 with a lament on the cruelty perpetrated throughout the land as 'traitors' exploited Stephen's mildness. One torture perpetrated in their castles was the hanging of enemies by their thumbs, heads or feet. Sometimes 'Knotted ropes were put round their heads and twisted till they penetrated to the brains.' The chronicle for 1137 ends with the story of William's death using this very form of torture.[68] This juxtaposition suggests that the disloyalty of the barons is akin to the crime of the Jews and that both pose a danger to the Christian body politic.

Killing by knotted ropes is otherwise unknown in England in this period, in written sources or in archaeological remains.[69] By 1154 the chronicler may have had access to the early parts of the *Life and Passion* or at least to similar accounts of William's sufferings, which had travelled from the neighbouring diocese of Norwich.[70]

William's uniquely cruel murder is presented in the *Life and Passion* as a crucifixion in all but name. Its meaning, as explained by Thomas

of Monmouth, is that the Jews enacted a crucifixion in Norwich to express their hatred of Christians and to offend the crucified Christ. Here, too, the most unknowable part of the story is imagined as taking place in secret, without witnesses or verification. Again, Thomas provides a supporting tale: the testimony of a Christian maid. She was asked to fetch a bowl of boiling water to staunch the bleeding[71] and as she handed it over to the Jews she managed to peep in on the crime scene (pp. 59–60).

The Jew that Thomas calls *Deus-adiuvet* ('God may help', a translation of the Hebrew name Eleazar) is a prominent figure in the story. He is central to the discussions that Thomas imagines the Jews having after William's death. However, Thomas does not single out here a particular Jew as the murderer; rather, he presents the crime as an act of group violence of a cruel and inventive nature. It is a scene akin to a crucifixion and although Thomas does not use the word here, he uses it later in the work.[72] The Jews are presented as a group working together during the murder and its aftermath. Thomas even imagines their conversation over how best to dispose of the corpse: one Jew suggests throwing it into the privy that runs under their houses; another, 'wiser' Jew says it would be safer to dispose of the body at a distance.[73]

Next Thomas describes the Jews placing the body in a sack and carrying it at daybreak, on horseback, to the wood, just east of the cathedral precinct across the River Wensum. A witness to their presence in Thorpe Wood also makes an appearance. Aelwerd Ded, a prominent burgess of the city, wonders what the Jews are up to in the wood on Good Friday; he even stretches out his hand to touch the sack. According to Thomas, Aelwerd on his deathbed would divulge that he had reported his suspicions to John the Sheriff, only to be warned against pursuing them further; he was bound by an oath to keep quiet (pp. 22–3). Wichemann, a monk who heard Aelwerd's confession, revealed the dying man's words to Thomas of Monmouth.

Having described the murder and the burial, Thomas's work is almost done. Yet he must have decided that his narrative required further embellishment for it to carry conviction. Upon joining the Cathedral Priory he must have been struck by the absence of a coherent version of William's death and by the presence of members who questioned the boy's sanctity. They claimed William lacked merit; that he was poor and insignificant; that he was of limited, local fame, hardly worthy of universal veneration; that even though he was murdered it could never be established that he went to his death

willingly accepting martyrdom.[74]

Thomas rebuts these objections one by one and then produces his clinching proof: evidence from an erstwhile Jew, now Thomas's fellow monk Theobald. This convert divulged to him the Jews' belief that they would never return to the 'land of their fathers' without the shedding of human blood.[75] Hence, 'the leaders and rabbis of the Jews who dwell in Spain, at Narbonne, where the seed of kings and their glory flourishes greatly, meet together, and cast lots of all the regions where Jews lived.' These Jewish leaders allocated the task of annual murder of a Christian to a particular community of Jews. According to Thomas, the Jews of England were chosen in 1144 and they delegated the operation to their brethren in Norwich.

Thomas of Monmouth took the rumour of a child murder and turned it into a powerful narrative, but he also infused the actions of the alleged murderers – the Jews – with new meanings. In his collection of Marian tales William of Malmesbury (*c*. 1080/95–1143) mentions the existence of a high priest or pope (*summus papa*) of the Jews in Narbonne, 'who accumulated great wealth and offered judgements to Jews all over the world'.[76] About the same time this idea was further developed and disseminated through the work of the leading theologian Peter the Venerable (*c*. 1092–1156), Abbot of Cluny, *Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem* (*Against the Inveterate Obduracy of the Jews*) of 1144.[77] Peter visited England on two occasions, in spring and summer 1130, and on a shorter visit in autumn 1148, following the composition of his polemic against Judaism, and close to the time when Thomas of Monmouth began writing the *Life and Passion*.[78] We do not know how Thomas came to learn of this new idea – a high priest of the Jews – but the Cluniac priory of St Pancras in Lewes, Sussex, was closely involved with Norfolk through its daughter house at Castle Acre, and also owned property in Norwich. Aimar, the prior of St Pancras, was among the delegates at the Norwich synod of 1144 at which the Jews were first accused of William's murder. Thomas claims that Aimar was enthusiastic in his support for the veneration of William of Norwich.[79] Indeed, the prior even offered to take William's body back with him to Lewes if Norwich decided to ignore the boy's sanctity (pp. 34–5). Had he done so, William's remains would have joined the relics of another child martyr in Lewes, St Pancras (d. 304), the Cluniac house's patron saint.[80]

The *Life and Passion* is a work of Thomas of Monmouth's imagination, based on memories and practices associated with William and his tomb. Thomas employs ideas about Jews styled after fashionable miracle collections. He also had institutional ambitions for his community. As we consider Thomas's work we must also appreciate the distinctive setting within which it was composed: Norwich Cathedral Priory, where William was buried, where remarkable events were said to have occurred and where grateful believers offered thanks and prayers.

About 1100 the Norman Herbert of Losinga founded a community of sixty Benedictine monks in the new cathedral at Norwich.[81] Following the tenth-century reforms of English religious life, several cathedrals adopted the monastic lifestyle for their religious communities. These cathedral priories were substantial institutions. They were headed by a bishop, who supervised religious life in the diocese and also managed the sizeable estates attached to the see. Alongside the bishop, the prior directed the community of monks, and the whole religious institution existed in proximity to a bustling city.[82] Bishop and monks reached complex arrangements over their respective rights to the cathedral's estates, wood, livestock and buildings. As Bishop Herbert designed his new community, he looked for inspiration to the traditions of the great Norman monastery at Fécamp, where he had served as prior before the Norman Conquest.[83]

Bishop Herbert's appointment to the East Anglian see of Thetford in 1090/91 had been marred by accusations of simony (the sin of purchasing an ecclesiastical office), for which he atoned in several ways.[84] He seems to have embraced an active ecclesiastical life, accompanied by grand gestures of piety. His writings include outpourings of extravagant Marian devotion, sometimes aligned with denunciation of the Jews. His Christmas sermon elaborates the theme of the Virgin birth and ends with one of the best-known Marian tales: the story of the Jewish boy who received Communion at Easter with his Christian schoolmates; when his father discovered this, he pushed his son into an oven. The boy was saved by the Virgin Mary, and the father, instead, perished in the fire. Bishop Herbert's version magnifies the ending with the death of all Jews: 'Forthwith there followed a most just vengeance on the heads of the Jews; and they who would not believe in the Incarnate Word were all alike burned in the aforesaid furnace.'[85]

Bishop Herbert's religion combined several devotional strands that were to develop over the twelfth century: the enhanced emphasis on

the suffering of Christ at the Crucifixion, and the appreciation of the Virgin Mary as a symbol of purity and mercy. These qualities informed the lives of monks and nuns above all, but they were also spreading more widely and would eventually touch the experiences of laypeople, too. Some of the monks still alive in Thomas's day may even have heard Bishop Herbert's preaching in their youth.[86] He left a strong mark on the identity and lore of the Cathedral Priory; indeed, Thomas recounts three visions in which Bishop Herbert appears in support of the cult of William of Norwich.

Another important context for Thomas of Monmouth's literary enterprise is that troubled period in English politics: the reign of Stephen. After the Battle of Lincoln (1141), when Stephen was defeated by supporters of Empress Matilda (another claimant to the throne), England was divided into spheres of influence. Within his 'regional kingship' East Anglia was largely within Stephen's sphere.[87] This meant that men loyal to him held important offices, but the state of political fragility obliged Stephen to bargain and often comply with requests for favours.[88] Nevertheless, although his income from some counties fell, Stephen maintained his solvency, not least thanks to income exacted from Jews.[89] He visited East Anglia and in 1146 founded the Benedictine nunnery of Carrow on the outskirts of the city.[90]

During these years the city of Norwich continued to flourish as a centre of manufacture and trade. It was endowed with building materials like flint and chalk, and with fuel such as peat and the resources of the largest forest in East Anglia: Thorpe Wood.[91] The craftsmen of Norwich worked in textiles and metal, as well as in the preparation of skins: tanning, the trade to which William is said to have been apprenticed. The city's location on the River Wensum made it an important river port for the marketing of produce from a vast agricultural hinterland; on its riverfront there were substantial stone warehouses.[92] Within this urban space the Cathedral Priory held lands and interacted with royal officials and townspeople. As collective landlord of vast estates with their villages and communities it also had strong contacts with the East Anglian countryside.

Here it was that the accusation of child murder was brought against the Jews of Norwich, who lived in the city as the Crown's protected people, under the eye of the sheriff. Tales of evil Jews who want to offend and shame Christians and their symbols are as old as the relationship between Christianity and Judaism. Yet the involvement of Jews in the death of a local boy provided a compelling bond between

the people of Norwich, its cathedral and the villagers who lived in its hinterland, all within the larger frame of Christian history. Although it probably derived from a story promoted by William's family, Thomas of Monmouth's child-murder narrative was decidedly novel and very much his own. He presented the Jews as acting in a concerted, knowing, planned, collective and cruel manner. In doing so, he remade Christian history in a contemporary English city.

This immediacy was new and Thomas's story no doubt made some Christians think differently about their Jewish neighbours. The Jews' crime was the happy occasion of a martyr's birth: William was to be venerated at Norwich Cathedral, a religious centre hitherto without a saint's cult.[93] The cathedral was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, but this concept (impossible to associate with relics) lacked the immediacy and the benevolent agency of a holy person; as a result, the cathedral paled in comparison to its neighbour in Bury St Edmunds, the ancient burial place of St Edmund, king and martyr. Thomas hoped that this might be rectified once his story became established and led to a flourishing cult.[94]

Having established in Books One and Two a narrative of childhood piety, boyhood martyrdom and post-mortem signs of virtue in William, in Book Three Thomas assumed a different style of reporting, more in keeping with the tradition of miracle books (*libri miraculorum*). He wrote, as many of his contemporaries did in their accounts of even very recent saints, about the miracles worked after death, as proof of their sanctity.[95] He depicted the aftermath of William's death as a time of miraculous signs: the lights which drew good people to the burial place in Thorpe Wood; the wholesome, fragrant state of the boy's body; the experiences of those who were charged with the preparation of his corpse for burial; and finally, the miracles which took place at William's tomb over the ensuing two decades. The people of Norwich, Thomas says, felt a growing attachment to William, which increased their veneration, once they understood the divine mercy apparent in the miracles. Thomas of Monmouth was present in 1150 when William was moved and buried in the Cathedral Priory's chapter house; the tomb slab refused to settle level with the pavement, despite the stonemasons' repeated efforts to fix it. Henceforward, Thomas referred to himself as William's 'sacrist', his loyal servant.[96]

Some of the miracles mentioned by Thomas are dated and they usually start with the name of the person to whom the miracle occurs, a location and some family context (wife, daughter, son, widow). The

miracles are recounted at varying length, the later accounts usually being shorter than the earlier. Thomas makes himself felt and known throughout these tales, praising William's virtue and favour with God and making interjections designed to reassure readers of the veracity of his reports.

Most of Thomas's accounts of miracles begin with the description of a long-standing condition suffered by some inhabitant of Norwich or a village in Norfolk or neighbouring Suffolk.[97] Pilgrims approach William's tomb after a long period of illness or disability, often after failed attempts at medical treatment (a common trope in miracle tales), having been advised to do so by a priest or a friend, or sometimes guided by a vision.[98] Others are healed by the mere invocation of William's name in prayer. Many repay the miraculous cure with a thanksgiving pilgrimage to his tomb, where they pray and make an offering. When the miracle takes place at the tomb, it is described as being witnessed by lay visitors, members of the monastic community and sometimes by Thomas himself.[99] When it takes place away from the shrine, Thomas aims to establish an evidence trail made up of testimonies from the cured person, family members or attendant neighbours and friends. He usually describes those cured as returning home grateful, safe and sound.[100] In two cases the cured choose to remain at the shrine and render service to William for the rest of their lives.

How should historians use such accounts of miracles as historical evidence?[101] Written for the close-knit religious community of Norwich Cathedral Priory, whose cultic activities were made public on many occasions, Thomas's account also had to include known features of the built surroundings, of relations within the Cathedral Priory and with liturgical routines. As a work for local use it had to recount a credible set of events, even if their interpretation was embellished with highly personal feelings about Jews, about saints and their cult, about royal officials and about other monks.

DEVOTIONAL CULTURE

A dynamic period of literary innovation, the twelfth century produced a great deal of hagiographical writing and displayed a strong interest in history. In this century the genre of romance came to fruition, based on Arthurian legend, and devotional poetry was refined. Beginning in the later eleventh century, the basic tenets of Christianity were debated with a new intensity, led by monastic scholars and

teachers in the cathedral schools. There was a new theology of the Incarnation, with novel understandings of the role of the Virgin Mary as its agent. Throughout the twelfth century these discussions often developed through polemical conversations – real as well as imagined – with Jews and Judaism.[102]

Monks were particularly preoccupied with Judaism, just as friars would be in the thirteenth century: they encountered Judaism in the incessant unfolding of the liturgy, in reflection on sin and guilt, in the work of biblical exegesis, and in their efforts to reformulate the tenets of faith and the story of Christian salvation.[103] At the heart of monastic spirituality was a strong affinity to the figure of Christ, particularly his saving Passion.[104] Monastic ideas about Jews were not solely prompted by interactions with contemporary Jews – although monastic officials regularly did business with them – but rather through reflection on the precarious relationship of affinity and supersession between Judaism and Christianity. Monks across England composed new materials and reworked old ones; they blended a rich English heritage with new elements, such as the emerging cult of the Virgin Mary. England's wealth and vibrant monastic culture attracted a visit around 1123 from the canons of Laon Cathedral, bringing Marian relics and accounts of the miracles they worked.[105]

Thomas of Monmouth drew upon a rich heritage. Accounts of English royal martyrs abound in late Anglo-Saxon England, often involving enthusiastic laypeople.[106] Accounts of saints' lives, as developed in the tenth and eleventh centuries, offered Thomas a template for his own tale of William of Norwich. In these stories it is the interest of local laypeople that forces ecclesiastical authorities to take note; killers are unworthy, inferior types;[107] a body is revealed by the appearance of a column of light, and so on.[108] Anglo-Saxon authors paid special attention to 'the purity and virginity of boy martyrs'.[109] In new Latin compositions and in translations these accounts of martyrdom – *passiones* – now reached an interested readership from among the Anglo-Norman secular and religious elites of post-Conquest England.[110]

Another strand woven into the *Life and Passion* takes the form of encounters with the Virgin Mary, often with William of Norwich at her side: purity with purity, sanctity with sanctity. The cult of the Virgin Mary – which had deep roots in Anglo-Saxon culture – was dramatically revived and extended in mid-twelfth-century England.[111] Monks collected miracle stories, composed liturgical material for Mary's feast days, and had her image carved and painted in newly

built and adorned monastic buildings.[112] In the 1140s at the Benedictine monastery at Bury St Edmunds, not far from Norwich, Abbot Anselm created the authoritative collection of miracles of the Virgin Mary, several of which involved Jews.[113] We have already seen how Bishop Herbert inserted the Marian tale about a Jewish boy and his father into his Christmas sermon.

The *Life and Passion* is unique as the earliest known account of the murder of a Christian child by Jews, a killing executed collectively.[114] It became known within the Anglo-Norman cultural sphere, its monasteries bound by links of filiation, and whose cathedrals were served by Englishmen and Frenchmen alike. In 1171, when the Norman monk Robert of Torigni (*c.* 1100–86) – abbot of Mont Saint-Michel and third continuator of the chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy – reported upon the burning of Jews for alleged child murder in Blois, he mentioned the cases of Norwich and Gloucester as forerunners.[115] His report ends with the observation: 'And it is said that they frequently do so [i.e., murder children] at Easter-time, if they have the opportunity.'

Knowledge of the *Life and Passion* quickly spread from Norwich Cathedral Priory to other Benedictine communities; Bury St Edmunds and Pershore are mentioned in the text, while a connection to Gloucester Abbey, through the church of St Peter Mancroft in Norwich marketplace, almost certainly explains the spread from Norwich to Gloucester of similar accusations against Jews. While most of the links in this chain of transmission cannot be reconstructed, I am now able to offer some new evidence. Our sole manuscript (which is described in detail in the Note on the Text below) was copied in an English Cistercian house by the year 1200, most probably at Sibton Abbey in Suffolk.

The Cistercian connection is further demonstrated a few decades later in the work of a Cistercian monk from northern France. At the beginning of the entry for 1146 in his *Chronicon* (written *c.* 1204) the poet and chronicler Hélinand of Froidmont (*c.* 1160–by 1237), a troubadour-turned-monk, refers to the death of William 'crucified in England by the Jews on holy Friday in the city of Norwich'.[116] Hélinand goes on to describe William's journey to the afterlife. Such a vision exists in the *Life and Passion*, although not experienced by William but by a certain Lewin; however, there is very little overlap in the language or details in the two accounts. News of William of Norwich may have reached Froidmont Abbey via an English visitor and we know that the tales of English monks were often recorded as

interesting *exempla*. Indeed, Thomas's and Hélinand's accounts differ so greatly that the latter seems more like a memory of a tale told, rather than of a text consulted.[117] There is another possible link, too. Thomas of Beverley (d. after 1225) accompanied Thomas Becket into exile in the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny in northern Burgundy between 1164 and 1166; and later, around 1174, he joined the Cistercian house of Froidmont as a monk, eventually becoming its abbot. Thomas of Beverley was himself a writer of hagiography. He wrote a Life of his sister St Margaret of Jerusalem and he may have been the author of a Life of Becket which existed in Froidmont Library. As a member of Becket's household, Thomas of Beverley must have known William Turbe, Bishop of Norwich, and through him may have gained knowledge (and perhaps procured a copy) of earlier sections of the *Life and Passion*.[118] By the time Hélinand wrote his *Chronicon* the tale of William of Norwich had reached Froidmont. The *Life and Passion* was copied into our Cistercian manuscript, together with other interesting and novel works on the religious life.

This speedy absorption of a recent account of an English martyrdom into the Cistercian repertoire should not surprise us. The decades between 1150 and 1210 were a period of exceptional literary activity within the Cistercian Order: edifying literary material in a wide range of genres was compiled, composed and disseminated. One striking characteristic is the proliferation of *exempla* relating to the interaction of Cistercians with the Virgin Mary, a tradition evident in accounts of the life of St Bernard.[119] Another quality prominent in these writings is the wide geographical range of source materials. Since Cistercian monasteries were obliged to send representatives to the Order's annual meetings (chapters) at its French mother-house Cîteaux, books, tales and rumours spread swiftly between houses. In writings from northern France – such as Hélinand of Froidmont's – English sources are particularly notable: in a collection from the house of Beaupré in the Beauvaisis, a brother from Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire and a cellarer from Gloucester are among the tellers of new tales.[120]

The *Life and Passion* is a testament to the religious culture and social life of England in the mid- and later twelfth century. It reveals the interplay in an urban centre between political and religious authorities a few generations after the Norman Conquest.[121] In order to add verisimilitude to his outrageous account, Thomas of Monmouth seeks to engage the reader with the minutiae of life, with local colour and detail, to make the horrific and unusual seem believable, even mundane. In doing so he presents the practices of parish and

neighbourhood, relations within families, intrigues in a monastic community and the natural world (on land and at sea) as both threatening and familiar.

The Life and Passion of William of Norwich is a rich and challenging text that greatly informs our understanding of how Christian ideas about Jews developed and spread in the Middle Ages. It rewards those who pay close attention to the historical context in which it was composed and who appreciate the literary work of Thomas of Monmouth.[122] The story of who killed William of Norwich – and stories of child murder by Jews all over Europe – was accepted as true by some medieval Europeans, but by no means all. Such tales were more readily believed in areas where the religious imagination dominated public discourse. Accounts such as the *Life and Passion* were disseminated widely as literature and as edifying tales, but were occasionally acted out in city streets or in law courts as individual Jews or groups of Jews were accused of child murder. This could lead to trials and executions, but it should be remembered that on occasion such accusations were also derided and dismissed.[123]

Another theme in the *Life and Passion* is human hope in the face of illness, and throughout this book Thomas of Monmouth recounts the role of children in families and communities. However, it is also this common humanity, the instinct to nurture our children, that he exploits so effectively. This translation will, I hope, alert new readers to the ways in which stories shape our perceptions of others in our communities, and how alluring those narratives can be which so easily explain evil and loss by demonizing vulnerable people.

In the spirit of such raised awareness, I offer this new translation.

NOTES

1. On 'The Prioress's Tale', see Anthony Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms, 1350–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 56–88; and on its revisions in the fifteenth century, pp. 88–103. For its sources, see Carleton Brown, *A Study of the Miracle of Our Lady Told by Chaucer's Prioress* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1910) and Roger Dahood, 'English Historical Narratives of Jewish Child-Murder, Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale*, and the Date of Chaucer's Unknown Source', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 31 (2009), pp. 125–40; Louise O. Fradenburg, 'Criticism, Anti-Semitism, and the Prioress's Tale', *Exemplaria* 1 (1989), pp. 69–115.
2. For the first modern treatment of the case of Hugh of Lincoln, see Gavin I. Langmuir, 'The Knight's Tale of Young Hugh of Lincoln', *Speculum* 47 (1972), pp. 459–82. For David Carpenter's authoritative recent analysis of this case, see 'Crucifixion and Conversion: King Henry III and the Jews in 1255, Part 1:

http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-01-2010.html and Part 2 http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-02-2010.html.

3. Dahood, 'English Historical Narratives', p. 129.
4. For the historical traditions that associated Jews and crimes of blood, see David Biale, *Blood and Belief: The Circulation of a Symbol between Jews and Christians* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007).
5. Tamar Herzig, 'Anti-Jewish Polemics and Female Stigmatization in Renaissance Ferrara', *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 25 (2012/13), pp. 99–123. On the infamous trial, see R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Trent 1475: Stories of a Ritual Murder Trial* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).
6. See, for example, the work of Alfonso da Spina, discussed in Alisa Meyuhas Ginio, *De bello iudaeorum: Fray Alonso de Espina y su 'Fortalitium fidei'* (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1998), esp. pp. 60–75.
7. *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth*, trans. and ed. Augustus Jessopp and Montague Rhodes James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896) [henceforward, Jessopp and James]. For discussions by the Press Syndics between 1894 and 1896, see CUL, University Archive (UA), Pr.V.12, pp. 219–20, 240, 330 and 387. For my discussion of the discovery and of its preparation for publication, see below, pp. li–lii.
8. On the treatment of the William of Norwich case in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Gavin I. Langmuir, 'Historiographic Crucifixion', in *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 287–8.
9. See Carpenter, 'Crucifixion and Conversion', Part 1.
10. Christian Wiese, *Challenging Colonial Discourse: Jewish Studies and Protestant Theology in Wilhelmine Germany*, trans. Barbara Harshav and Christian Wiese (Leiden: Brill, 2005). On the treatment offered by the Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz (1817–91), see Langmuir, 'Historiographic Crucifixion', pp. 288–9.
11. See *The Jews of Angevin England: Documents and Records* (London: David Nutt, 1893), pp. 19–20.
12. He associated the accusation with the perceived ritual violence of Jews on the festival of Purim. See Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), p. 9. For an authoritative history of the Jews of Norwich and a useful summary of the state of scholarship at that stage, see V. D. Lipman, *The Jews of Medieval Norwich*, ed. A. M. Habermann (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1967), pp. 49–57. See also Langmuir, 'Historiographic Crucifixion'; Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 165–7; and Elliott S. Horowitz, *Reckless Rites: Purim and the Legacy of Jewish Violence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 222–7.
13. Albert S. Lindemann, *The Jew Accused: Three Anti-Semitic Affairs (Dreyfus, Beilis, Frank) 1894–1915* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 174–93.
14. Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1977), pp. 113–29. For a more recent exploration of social questions, see the study of attitudes to childhood and children's

health in William F. MacLehose, *'A Tender Age': Cultural Anxieties over the Child in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

15. Gavin I. Langmuir, 'Thomas of Monmouth: Detector of Ritual Murder', *Speculum* 59 (1984), pp. 820–46. For a discussion of Langmuir's approach, see Hannah R. Johnson, *Blood Libel: Ritual Murder Accusation at the Limit of Jewish History* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012), pp. 30–58.
16. The short mention of the case of William of Norwich on XV kal. May (17 April) – 'Apud Anglos Willehelmi pueri a iudeis crucifixi' – in Bavarian copes of the eleventh-century martyrology updated by Paul of Bernried (Munich, Bavarian State Library clm 5256 (Chiemsee), fols. 24v–25r, clm 22058 (Wessobrunn), fol. 32r, and clm 1071 (Oberaltaich), fol. 28r), added by the late 1140s, attest to a regional link and a shared source of information; as discussed in John M. McCulloh, 'Jewish Ritual Murder: William of Norwich, Thomas of Monmouth, and the Early Dissemination of the Myth', *Speculum* 72 (1997), pp. 698–740; at pp. 717–28. Strong contacts existed between German and English monasteries in the twelfth century.
17. For interesting recent interpretations of the *Life and Passion* by literary scholars, see Jeffrey J. Cohen, 'The Flow of Blood in Medieval Norwich', *Speculum* 79 (2004), pp. 26–65, and Denise L. Despres, 'Adolescence and Sanctity: *The Life and Passion of Saint William of Norwich', Journal of Religion* 90 (2010), pp. 33–62; it is also considered in Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book*, pp. 118–19. See also Patricia Healy Wasyliw, *Martyrdom, Murder, and Magic: Child Saints and Their Cults in Medieval Europe* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008), chapter 7. Robert Bartlett considers the case in *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 179–80.
18. For a recent attempt to historicize the efforts of historians studying ritual-murder accusations, see Johnson, *Blood Libel*.
19. Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb*, pp. 135–204.
20. Jeremy Cohen, *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), esp. pp. 93–117.
21. R. Po-chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 197–230. For an insightful discussion of the appeal of ritual-murder accusations to the late medieval public, see Christopher Ocker, 'Ritual Murder and the Subjectivity of Christ: A Choice in Medieval Christianity', *Harvard Theological Review* 91 (1998), pp. 153–92.
22. See Jonathan Frankel, *The Damascus Affair: 'Ritual Murder', Politics and the Jews in 1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
23. As on folios 1r and 18r of our text. Augustus Jessopp, one of the first editors of the *Life and Passion*, preferred to think of Thomas as a local man. Jessopp returned to this several times in letters to his co-editor M. R. James: 'It is very hard to believe that Thomas can have been a Monmouth man really and I should not be much surprised to find out that your Monumotensis stands for something else,' 29 August 1891 (Cambridge University Library, Add 7481, Letter J40); 'By the way, I very much doubt whether Thomas had anything to do with Monmouth. How should he? Monument is still a Norfolk name, but very uncommon,' 13 November 1891 (Letter J43); 'Another suggestion comes

to me that Monewden near Wickham Market may have something to do with his name: but I rather think my original notion better,' 2 March 1894 (Letter J54); 'I am in hesitation on whether to translate Monemetensis, or Monemutensis of Monmouth. I am rather inclined to keep to the man's Latin form Thomas Monementensis. I feel sure Monmouth is wrong in any case,' 3 May 1894 (Letter J59).

24. There was a Benedictine house in Monmouth, affiliated to the French house of Saint-Florent in Saumur, see David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), pp. 55, 71.
25. See Elisabeth van Houts, 'Historical Writing', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 103–21; esp. pp. 114–15.
26. On literary creativity on the Welsh Borders, see the studies in Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. D. N. Dumville and C. N. L. Brooke (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986).
27. *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters*, ed. Adrian Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 124–46. On the dependencies, see pp. 77–8.
28. On hagiography, see David Townsend, 'Anglo-Latin Hagiography and the Norman Transition', *Exemplaria* 3 (1991), pp. 385–433.
29. Jessopp formed a very negative image of Thomas, whom he saw as 'a bit of a scoundrel; at any rate half knave and half fool and visionary', 11 April 1894 (CUL, Add 7481, Letter J51); he also wrote on 2 March 1894: 'It's a horribly long business and this "Monumetensis" is such a scoundrel!' (CUL, Add 7481, Letter J54).
30. The reach of Thomas's field of citation is similar to that of Herman the Archdeacon, the monk of Bury St Edmunds in an earlier generation, who also collected miracles of that monastery's martyr and patron, St Edmund; see Tom Licence, 'History and Hagiography in the Late Eleventh Century: The Life and Work of Herman the Archdeacon, Monk of Bury St Edmunds', *English Historical Review* 124 (2009), pp. 516–44; at pp. 536–8. On Thomas's rhetorical strategies, especially in the refutation of detractors, see Hannah R. Johnson, 'Rhetoric's Work: Thomas of Monmouth and the History of Forgetting', *New Medieval Literatures* 9 (2007), pp. 63–91.
31. See Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973), pp. 167–74, 225–6 (and see map on p. 171).
32. Julie Barrau, 'Did Medieval Monks Actually Speak Latin?', in *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Tenth–Thirteenth Centuries)*, ed. S. Vanderputten (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 293–317; esp. pp. 304–5.
33. A twelfth-century Priscian from Norwich survived the 1272 fire: see N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, Guides and Handbooks 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 137. On the library of the neighbouring and far more ancient abbey, Bury St Edmunds, see Rodney M. Thomson, 'The Library of Bury St Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Speculum* 47 (1972), pp. 617–45; esp. pp. 627–32.
34. There are three citations from Horace and four from Virgil in the *Life and Passion*. In his choices Thomas resembles Herman the Archdeacon, the collector of miracles at the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, a contemporary of the

foundation of Norwich Cathedral Priory. See Licence, 'History and Hagiography', pp. 536–7. On access to Virgil within English education in this period, see Christopher Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 15, 34–6. On the uses of Horace, see Rita Copeland, 'Horace's *Ars poetica* in the Medieval Classroom and Beyond: The Horizons of Ancient Precept', in *Answerable Style: The Idea of the Literary in Medieval England*, ed. Frank Grady and Andrew Galloway (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2013), pp. 15–33; esp. pp. 19–28. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Thomas does not cite Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

35. Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Diana Greenway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. xxxiii–xxxv. Henry commands a wider range of classical citations than Thomas.
36. Augustus Jessopp, the work's first translator, found it a challenge to translate: 'I don't think my translation will be as bold as in this detestable prologue which is the worst bit of the whole,' 18 May 1894 (CUL, Add 7481, Letter J55). On some of Thomas's rhetorical practices, see Anthony Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages* (London: Reaktion, 2010), pp. 50–58.
37. See Antonia Gransden, 'Prologues in the Historiography of Twelfth-Century England', in *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1990), pp. 55–81; reprinted in Antonia Gransden, *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), pp. 125–51; and on prologues to lives of saints more generally, see Michael Goodich, 'A Note on Sainthood in the Hagiographical Prologue', *History and Theory* 20 (1981), pp. 168–74. For an example of a work on rhetoric close to Thomas's time, that of Peter of Blois of 1181–5, which discusses the opening of letters with *captatio* in mind, see *Medieval Rhetorics of Prose Composition: Five English 'Artes Dictandi' and Their Tradition*, ed. Martin Camargo (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), pp. 55–6.
38. See Peter Ainsworth, ' "Contemporary" and "Eyewitness" History', in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 249–76; esp. pp. 249–54; Nancy F. Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 183–93; on the reuse of hagiographical models, see Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation and Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 138–58; on the rhetorical style of history writing in this period, see Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400–1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 87–90, 156–8. On women as witnesses, see E. M. C. van Houts, 'Orality in Norman Hagiography of the 11th and 12th Centuries: The Value of Female Testimonies', in *History and Family Traditions in England and the Continent, 1000–1200* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 1–13. The Augustinian canon and historian William of Newburgh (*c*. 1136–*c*. 1198) criticized Geoffrey of Monmouth for adding to the false prophecies of Merlin much of his own ('de proprio plurimum adjecit'); see William of Newburgh, *The History of English Affairs*, ed. and trans. P. G. Walsh and M. J. Kennedy (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988), pp. 28–9.
39. James Campbell, 'Norwich', in *Atlas of Historic Towns* II, ed. M. D. Lobel

(London: Scolar, 1975), pp. 1–15; see p. 10. On the Jews of Norwich, see Elizabeth Rutledge, 'The Medieval Jews of Norwich and Their Legacy', in *Art, Faith and Place in East Anglia from Prehistory to the Present*, ed. T. A. Heslop, Elizabeth Mellings and Margit Thøfner (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 117–29, and Lipman, *The Jews of Medieval Norwich*; see also Simon Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), pp. 140–6.

40. Hebrew was the Jews' liturgical language. On the Jews in England, see Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christian–Jewish Relations, 1000–1300: Jews in the Service of Medieval Christendom* (Harlow: Longman, 2011), pp. 88–108, and Paul Hyams, 'The Jewish Minority in Mediaeval England, 1066–1290', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 25 (1974), pp. 270–93. On the ethnic composition of Norwich, see Cohen, 'The Flow of Blood in Medieval Norwich'.
41. On the accidental deaths of children (albeit after the twelfth century, when the sources allow such study), see Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 175–82; and on the basis of the miracle account, see Didier Lett, *L'Enfant des miracles: Enfance et société au Moyen Âge (XIIe–XIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Aubier, 1997), pp. 91–106.
42. See Cecily Clark, 'Women's Names in Post-Conquest England: Observations and Speculations', *Speculum* 53 (1978), pp. 223–51; esp. pp. 233–5.
43. In the Middle Ages Thorpe Wood was the property of the bishops of Norwich; today it is the partly wooded, partly residential area across the River Wensum from the city proper.
44. John Hudson, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England, II. 871–1216* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 395–6; see also pp. 409–12.
45. On marriage of the clergy in this period, see below, note 18, p. 207.
46. See Judith A. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, Public Record Office Handbooks 24 (London: HMSO, 1990), p. 61; also H. A. Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen, 1135–54: Anarchy in England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970), pp. 149–50.
47. On Bishop Everard, see Charles Grégoire, 'Everard, évêque de Norwich, "bâtisseur" de l'abbatiale cistercienne de Fontenay', *Cîteaux* 43 (1992), pp. 418–25, and Stuart Harrison, 'Dating the Abbey Church of Fontenay: A Reassessment of the Evidence', *Cîteaux* 61 (2010), pp. 99–124; esp. pp. 107–110. On burial in churches, see Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066–1550* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 95–6.
48. See Catherine Cubitt, 'Sites and Sanctity: Revisiting the Cult of Murdered and Martyred Anglo-Saxon Royal Saints', *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000), pp. 53–83, and Paul. A. Hayward, 'The Idea of Innocent Martyrdom in Late Tenth- and Eleventh-Century English Hagiology', *Studies in Church History* 30 (1993), pp. 81–92. This was a wider phenomenon, too, and the cults tended to be informal ones; see André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 147–51.
49. Thomas presents the crime as a killing in mockery of Christ, but uses the word 'crucifixion' sparingly; see below, note 72. See also, Langmuir, 'Historiographic Crucifixion', p. 284.
50. On popular participation in the cult of William, see John M. McCulloh, 'Unofficial Elements in the Cult of St William of Norwich', *Hagiographica* 13

(2006), pp. 163–204. See, more generally, on the relative influence of laypeople and institutions, Pierre-André Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XIe–XIIe siècle)* (Paris: Cerf, 1985), pp. 167–72.

51. See McCulloh, 'Jewish Ritual Murder', esp. p. 725.
52. See *English Episcopal Acta VI: Norwich 1070–1214*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 371–3.
53. See Christopher Harper-Bill, 'Bishop William Turbe and the Diocese of Norwich, 1146–1174', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 7 (1985), pp. 142–60.
54. On education at Norwich Cathedral Priory, see Joan Greatrex, 'The Almonry School at Norwich Cathedral Priory in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *Studies in Church History* 31 (1994), pp. 169–81; esp. pp. 169–71.
55. See David Knowles, *The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), pp. 31–3, 108–109; and Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1986), p. 90.
56. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, trans. and ed. Michael Swanton (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), pp. 265–6. On the manuscript, see pp. xxvi–xxvii; see also George Younge, 'The Canterbury Anthology: An Old English Manuscript in Its Anglo-Norman Context', Ph.D. Dissertation Submitted to the University of Cambridge (2001), pp. 186–7. Indeed, those rumours may have also contributed to other sections of the 1137 entry, as discussed below, note 68. See also Langmuir, 'Thomas of Monmouth', pp. 820–21.
57. See *The Customary of the Cathedral Priory Church of Norwich: ms. 465 in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, ed. J. B. L. Tolhurst, Henry Bradshaw Society 82 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1948), p. 73, and for entry in calendar, p. 3.
58. On the book's structure, see Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, pp. 123–7.
59. See above, pp. xviii.
60. See Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, p. 124.
61. Langmuir, 'Thomas of Monmouth', pp. 839–40.
62. For the first editors' assessment of what may be considered the kernel of truth, see Jessopp and James, pp. xiv–xviii.
63. On Harold of Gloucester, *Historia et cartularium monasterii sancti Petri Gloucestriae* I, ed. William Henry Hart, Rolls Series (London: HMSO, 1863 [Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprints, 1971]), pp. 20–21; David Welander, *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991), pp. 609–10 [English translation]; Joe Hillaby, 'The Ritual-Child-Murder Accusation: Its Dissemination and Harold of Gloucester', *Jewish Historical Studies* 34 (1994–6), pp. 69–109; on Robert of Bury, see Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book*, pp. 105–43; interest in Robert, as in William of Norwich, was revived in the fifteenth century. Richard of Devizes composed a satirical tale of child murder, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, ed. John T. Appleby (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1963), pp. 64–9; on this text, see the introduction, pp. xiv–xv. The case of Adam of Bristol is a literary confection of the thirteenth century, which probably originated as a parish drama, see Robert C. Stacey, ' "Adam of Bristol" and Tales of Ritual Crucifixion in Medieval England', *Thirteenth-Century England* 11 (2007), pp. 1–15, and Harvey J. Hames, 'The Limits of Conversion: Ritual Murder and the Virgin Mary in the Account of Adam of Bristol', *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007), pp. 43–59. Heather Blurton has considered the echoes of child-murder

accusations in historical writings of the later twelfth century, in 'Egyptian Days: From Passion to Exodus in the Representation of Twelfth-Century Jewish–Christian Relations', in *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190, Narratives and Contexts*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones and Sethina Watson (York: York Medieval Press/Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 222–37; esp. pp. 224–6.

64. See the analysis above, pp. xxxi–xxxii.
65. See Monika Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth-Century Historical Writing* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), pp. 21–57.
66. This scene is described in MacLehose, *'A Tender Age'*, p. 292.
67. I am most grateful to Matthew Champion, who discussed this passage with me. See below for the biblical sources, Book One, note 26, p. 208.
68. 'Now we wish to tell some part of what happened in King Stephen's time. In his time the Jews of Norwich bought a Christian child before Easter, and tortured him with all the same tortures with which our Lord was tortured, and on Good Friday hanged him on a cross for love of our Lord, and afterwards buried him – imagined that it would be concealed, but our Lord showed that he was a holy martyr, and the monks took him and buried him reverently in the minster, and through our Lord he performs wonderful and manifold miracles; and he is called St William,' *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, pp. 265–6; see also Younge, 'The Canterbury Anthology', pp. 186–7.
69. I am grateful to Andrew Reynolds, the author of *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), for confirming this.
70. The description of tortures during Stephen's reign also includes incarceration with toads and adders, practices described in miracles of the *Life and Passion*; see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, p. 265; and see the text below, p. 163.
71. On the use of boiling water (and a possible link to the rituals of Passover) in later accusations against Jews, see Katrin Kogman-Appel, *A Mahzor from Worms: Art and Religion in a Medieval Jewish Community* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 95–6; also Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 45, figures 19, 20a and b.
72. The verb 'to crucify' is used only twice in the *Life and Passion*, when Thomas marshals seven arguments in support of his version of events; he also applies it in passing to set the scene for the testimony he claims a maid in the Jews' house gave him: 'William was being tortured so cruelly in retribution, ridiculed and crucified' (*penaliter torquebatur, illudebatur, et crucifigebatur*), below. p. 59.
73. Such invented speeches were a common classroom exercise in the course of teaching rhetoric; see Marjorie Curry Woods, 'Rhetoric, Gender and the Literary Arts: Classical Speeches in the Schoolroom', *New Medieval Literatures* 11 (2009), pp. 113–32. Thomas uses it elsewhere in the *Life and Passion*, when he recreates Bishop Turbe's speech at the trial of Simon de Nodariis; see below, pp. 68–70.
74. Intention became an increasingly central moral test in the judgement of sin and virtue in twelfth-century Europe; see David E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard: The Influence of Abelard's Thought in the Early Scholastic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 139–40, 151–3, 163, 175–6. For similar incorporation of current 'objections' to a saint within the

hagiographical account of her life, see *The Life of Christina of Markyate, a Twelfth-Century Recluse*, ed. and trans. C. H. Talbot (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 68.

75. See Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075–1225* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 34–6. This claim is associated with the Christian understanding (developed over the twelfth century) of the hope for 'vengeful redemption' among Jews in Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb,* pp. 173–4.
76. 'apud Narbonam habent summum papam, ad quam a iudaeis ex toto curritur orbe. His xenia cumulantibus, his si quid questionis intra eos ortum fuerit quod solutionem desiderat, illius arbitratu decidentibus', José M. Canal, *El Libro 'De laudibus et miraculis Sanctae Mariae' de Guillermo de Malmesbury, OSB (+c. 1143). Estudio y texto* (Rome: Alma Roma, 1968), p. 73, lines 295–8. See Peter Carter, 'The Historical Content of William of Malmesbury's *Miracles of the Virgin Mary*', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 127–65; esp. pp. 146–50.
77. On the dating, see *Petri Venerabilis Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem*, ed. Yvonne Friedman, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 58 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), pp. lxiii–lxiv, and the entry about Narbonne, p. 70. See the English translation and comments in Peter the Venerable, *Against the Inveterate Obduracy of the Jews*, trans. and ed. Irven M. Resnick (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2013), p. 40. On the legend, see Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000–1150)*, trans. Graham Robert Edwards (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 293–5; Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 254–70. On the community at Narbonne and its leading family, see Aryeh Graboïs, 'La dynastie des "rois juifs" de Narbonne (IXe–XIIIe siècles)', in *Narbonne: Archéologie et historie* II (Montpellier: Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, 1973), pp. 49–54. This view contrasts with the one expressed in the 1130s by Peter Abelard, that the Jews were 'dispersed among the nations, alone, without an earthly king or prince', Peter Abelard, *Dialogue of a Philosopher with a Jew and a Christian*, ed. and trans. Pierre J. Payer (Toronto: Pontificial Institute of Mediaevel Studies, 1979), pp. 32–3.
78. Damien van den Eynde, 'Les principaux voyages de Pierre le Vénérable', *Benedictina* 15 (1968), pp. 58–110; esp. pp. 89–94.
79. Aimar was prior for only a short period: his predecessor died in 1143, and Aimar occurs in 1144 and 1145, and is succeeded by 1147. For his presence in Norwich we rely on Thomas alone, but so soon after assuming office he may well have wished to visit Norwich and survey his Norfolk interests, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, I. 940–1216*, ed. David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and Vera C. M. London, second edn with new material by C. N. L. Brooke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 119, 268–9. The rich market church of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, was held by St Pancras, Campbell, 'Norwich', map 6 and p. 24.
80. *The Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Elisabeth M. C. van Houts and Rosalind C. Love (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013), pp. 97–102.

81. The see was moved from Thetford to Norwich, and in 1126 Norwich Cathedral became the mother church of East Anglia, Everett U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 174–95; esp. pp. 176–85. For the complex chronology of the move, see J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, XI. Coventry and Lichfield*, ed. Christopher Brooke, Jeffrey Denton and Diana Greenway (London: University of London Institute of Historical Research, 2012), p. xxvii. On Herbert, see Tom Licence, 'Herbert Losinga's Trip to Rome and the Bishopric of Bury St Edmunds', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 34 (2012), pp. 151–68.
82. On the division of property between bishop and Cathedral Priory, see the example in Martin Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 192. On the complex role of bishops within their urban contexts, see Paul Dalton, Charles Insley and Louise J. Wilkinson, 'Introduction', in *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Paul Dalton, Charles Insley and Louise J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 1–26; esp. pp. 17–26.
83. *English Episcopal Acta VI*, pp. xxviii–xxix. He wrote to the abbey with a request for a copy of its customs, *The Life, Letters, and Sermons of Bishop Herbert de Losinga (b. circ. A.D. 1050, d. 1119)* II, ed. Edward Meyrick Goulburn and Henry Symonds (Oxford and London: James Parker and Co., 1878), pp. 65–6; Barbara Dodwell, 'The Monastic Community', in *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096–1996*, ed. Ian Atherton, Eric Fernie, Christopher Harper-Bill and Hassell Smith (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), pp. 231–54; esp. pp. 233–4. On this sermon see also Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, pp. 116–20.
84. See *The Heads of Religious Houses I*, p. 162. See also, for example, the account of John of Worcester in *The Chronicle of John of Worcester* III, ed. and trans. P. McGurk (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 68–71.
85. *The Life, Letters and Sermons of Bishop Herbert de Losinga* II, pp. 30–33. This connection was also noted by Jessopp and James, p. lxv. On the story and its reach, see Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, pp. 7–28 and MacLehose, *'A Tender Age'*, paragraphs 244–7.
86. I am much inspired here by conversations on Herbert's activities with Dr Tom Licence. For a reference to oral memories 'as is related by old people' (*ex relatione antiquorum*), see *The First Register of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, ed. H. W. Saunders (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1939), pp. 50–51. On the use of the figure of Herbert in the *Life and Passion*, see Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, pp. 133–40.
87. Edmund King, *King Stephen* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 218–220.
88. Nicholas Vincent, 'New Charters of King Stephen with Some Reflections upon the Royal Forests During the Anarchy', *English Historical Review* 114 (1999), pp. 899–928; esp. pp. 902–903, 914–15. Earlier in the reign Norwich had benefited from concessions, too; see King, *King Stephen*, pp. 78–9. On violence during the reign, see Hugh M. Thomas, 'Violent Disorder in King Stephen's England: A Maximum Argument', in *King Stephen's Reign (1135–1154)*, ed. Paul Dalton and Graeme J. White (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 139–70. On the consequences for the Church, see Christopher Harper-Bill, 'The Anglo-Norman Church', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Christopher

Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 165–90; esp. pp. 187–8.

89. On solvency, see Vincent, 'New Charters', pp. 920–21 and Judith Green, 'Financing Stephen's War', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (1992), pp. 91–114; at pp. 99–100.
90. Campbell, 'Norwich', p. 9.
91. Ibid., p. 7.
92. Brian Ayers and P. Murphy, 'Waterfront Excavation at Whitefriars Street Car Park, Norwich, 1979', *East Anglian Archaeology Report* 17 (1983), pp. 1–60; Brian Ayers, *Excavations at St Martin-at-Palace Plain, Norwich, 1981*, East Anglian Archaeology 37 (Dereham: Norfolk Archaeological Unit, Norfolk Museums Service, 1987). I am grateful to Susan Raich for an edifying conversation on Norwich's river trade. See also, Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, pp. 150–53.
93. On liturgical life in the cathedral see David Chadd, 'The Medieval Customary of the Cathedral Priory', in *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096–1996*, ed. Ian Atherton, Eric Fernie, Christopher Harper-Bill and Hassell Smith (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), pp. 314–24.
94. Even as Thomas was completing his work in the early 1170s, Norwich Cathedral Priory acquired a substantial relic from Fécamp: a portion of the Holy Blood. Its arrival inspired new liturgical and architectural arrangements within the cathedral; see Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 69–71, 209–10.
95. See Rachel Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), pp. 2, 96, 113. On the incorporation of new saints in this period, see Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, pp. 461–2.
96. See, for example, 90, 92, pp. 112 (implict), 114.
97. The vast majority of 115 miracles occurred to people from Norfolk villages; only seven to people from Suffolk. On the geographical distribution, see Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, pp. 151–3. On some of the patterns of the tales, see Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate*, pp. 125–34.
98. On the distribution of illnesses in accounts of miraculous cures, see Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things*?, p.343.
99. On attention to chains of transmission and witness, see an example in a *Vita* bound alongside *The Life and Passion* in our manuscript: John of Forde, *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury, Anchorite*, trans. Pauline Matarasso (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011), Book 3, chapter 6, pp. 178–9.
100. See examples below, pp. 166, 167, 177, 182.
101. For example, see the positions described and evaluated in Marcus Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), esp. pp. 11–20.
102. See Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), pp. 121–68.
103. On the monastic preoccupation with Jews and Judaism, see Kati Ihnat, 'Getting the Punchline: Deciphering Anti-Jewish Humour in Anglo-Norman England', in *Journal of Medieval History* 38 (2012), pp. 408–23.
104. See Rachel Fulton Brown, 'Three-in-One: Making God in Twelfth-Century

Liturgy, Theology and Devotion', in *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and John Van Engen (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), pp. 468–98. On the role of images and imagination in this spirituality, see Sara Lipton, ' "The Sweet Lean of His Head": Writing about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages', *Speculum* 80 (2005), pp. 1172–1208.

105. See Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, pp. 75–81.
106. See Cubitt, '*Sites and Sauctity*'. On anti-Judaism in the eleventh century and its association with monastic liturgical life, see Daniel F. Callahan, 'Ademar of Chabannes, Millennial Fears and the Development of Western Anti-Judaism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995), pp. 19–35.
107. For a discussion of Jews as 'underlings' see Younge, 'The Canterbury Anthology', pp. 184–6.
108. Ibid., pp. 70–72.
109. Ibid., pp. 81–2.
110. See *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives: Vita S. Birini, Vita et miracula S. Kenelmi and Vita S. Rumwoldi*, ed. and trans. Rosalind C. Love (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. xxiii–xxix, xxxix–xlviii.
111. For an analysis of William and his mother in the light of devotions to Mary and Jesus, see MacLehose, *'A Tender Age'*, paragraphs 228–9.
112. See T. A. Heslop, 'The English Origins of the Coronation of the Virgin', *The Burlington Magazine* 147 (2005), pp. 790–97 and 'The Virgin Mary's Regalia and 12th-century English Seals', in *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler*, ed. Alan Borg and Andrew Martindale, British Archaeological Reports International Series 111 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 53–62.
113. See Richard Southern, 'The English Origins of the "Miracles of the Virgin" ', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958), pp. 176–216.
114. For a discussion of possible antecedents, see Jessopp and James, pp. lxii–lxiv. In 1147 a Jew was accused of murder in Würzburg (see Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb*, pp. 168–70).
115. 'Hoc etiam fecerunt de sancto Willelmo in Anglia apud Norwiz, tempore Stephani regis; quo sepulto in ecclesia episcopali, multa miracula fiunt ad sepulchrum ejus. Similiter factum est de alio apud Glouecestriam, tempore Henrici secundi regis […] Et frequenter, ut dicitur, faciunt hoc in tempore Paschali, si opportunitatem invenerint,' *The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni*, ed. Richard Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I* IV (London: HMSO, 1889 [Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprints, 1964]), pp. 250–251. For an evaluation of this testimony, see Langmuir, 'Historiographic Crucifixion', pp. 285–6. See also *The Chronicles of Robert de Monte*, trans. Joseph Stevenson (Lampeter: Llanerch, 1991), p. 114.
116. 'Helinandi Frigidi Montis monachi chronicon', *Patrologia Latina* 212, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1855), cols. 1036–7. The entry is placed under the year 1146 and the boy William is described as being fifteen years old; McCulloh, 'Jewish Ritual Murder', pp. 719–24. On Hélinand, see E. Rozanne Elder, 'Early Cistercian Writers', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, ed. Mette Birkedal Bruun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 199–217; esp. pp. 207–8. On the making and impact of the *Chronicon*, see Monique Paulmier-Foucart, 'Ecrire l'histoire au XIIIe siècle: Vincent de

Beauvais et Hélinand de Froidmont', *Annales de l'Est* 33 (1981), pp. 49–70; esp. pp. 52–4, 65–6. A good example of the compilation work similar to the Cistercian interest in visionary material is the *Liber revelationum* (*c*. 1200–1206) of Peter of Cornwall (1139/40–1221), prior of the Augustinians at Holy Trinity Church, London; for its contents, see M. R. James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), no. 51, pp. 71–85. I am most grateful to Helen Birkett, who introduced me to Peter of Cornwall and with whom I had a most illuminating conversation about Cistercian literary networks.

117. Only rarely did Hélinand use visions whose origins lay outside Cistercian houses; see Christopher Thomas John Wilson, 'The Dissemination of Visions of the Otherworld in England and Northern France, c.1150–c.1321', dissertation submitted to the University of Exeter (2012), p. 218.
118. I am grateful to David Bell for his most interesting comments on Thomas of Beverley and for his authoritative support for the identification of CUL Add 3037 as a Cistercian manuscript. See E. L. O'Brien, 'Beverley, Thomas of (*d*. after 1225)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
119. See Brian Patrick McGuire, 'The Cistercians and the Rise of the Exemplum in Early Thirteenth-Century France: A Re-evaluation of Paris BN MS Lat. 15912', *Classica et mediaevalia* 34 (1983), pp. 211–67; at pp. 248–9. For this collection, see *Collectio Exemplorum Cisterciensis e Codice Parisiensi, Bnf, Lat. 15912 Asseruata*, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 243 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012). See also Stefano Mula, 'Geography and the Early Cistercian *Exempla* Collections', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 46 (2011), pp. 27–43.
120. See McGuire, 'The Cistercians', pp. 217–21, 225–6.
121. On Anglo-Norman Norwich, see Brian Ayers, *Norwich: Archaeology of a Fine City* (Stroud: Amberley, 2009), pp. 55–88.
122. For a social and cultural history based on miracle stories, see Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002).
123. For an account of one such trial, see Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*; for an accusation dismissed, see Elena Lourie, 'A Plot Which Failed? The Case of the Corpse Found in the Jewish *Call* of Barcelona (1301)', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986), pp. 187–220. For a parody of an accusation, see Anthony P. Bale, 'Richard of Devizes and Fictions of Judaism', *Jewish Culture and History* 3 (2000), pp. 55–72.

A Note on the Text

On a late summer day, 29 August 1891, seated at his desk in Scarning Rectory in North Norfolk, Augustus Jessopp (1823–1914), clergyman, charismatic schoolmaster and from 1895 honorary canon of Norwich Cathedral, wrote the following letter:

Scarning Rectory
East Dereham
29/8/1891

My dear James,

I am extremely obliged to you for the very interesting account you sent me of the finding of the long lost life of S. William of Norwich […] This find is all important, and I am even surprised a bit. I congratulate you cordially on securing such a curious treasure for the University Library. […]

I hope you will go into print and if I can be of any assistance at all you may rely on my cooperating cordially with you. The chances are that the discovery of this MS. will throw light upon the whole cycle of stories about Jews crucifying or otherwise slaying Christian boys in the 12th and 13th centuries. But does it illustrate the story of the Prioress' Tale?

Is it too much to hope that you the discoverer and therefore a privileged person would come over here and pay me a visit with the treasure under your arm? Gratefully I should welcome you!

With many thanks for so kindly writing to me this information,
I am,
faithfully yours,
Augustus Jessopp[1]

Here begins the modern engagement with the historical affair of William of Norwich. Jessopp was a prolific writer, whose range included sermons, ghost stories and much local history.[2] The addressee of his letter was M. R. James (1862–1936), a scholar with a fast-growing international reputation for his expertise in medieval art and manuscript studies; at that time he was Assistant Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and later he was to become Provost of both King's College Cambridge and Eton.[3] James, too, wrote ghost stories, which often took place in libraries and involved manuscript scholars.

The ‘curious treasure’ that Jessopp was so eager to see was a manuscript acquired in 1891 by Cambridge University Library (CUL), shortly to become MS Additional 3037 in the university’s collection. It was one of seven manuscripts purchased by the CUL from the parish of Brent Eleigh in Suffolk, where they had been kept in a ‘small dark building’. M. R. James noted that

> None of the MSS was without interest, but two were unique – a volume containing the long-lost life of St William of Norwich (a boy supposed to have been kidnapped and crucified by Jews in 1124 [*sic*]) and a bulky but mutilated *Register of British Saints*, written in the early part of the seventeenth century by Nicholas Roscarrock.[4]

As we shall see, these two manuscripts share an interesting history.

The retired clergyman and the Cambridge scholar developed a working relationship, as revealed in forty-three surviving letters between them. Jessopp was far keener to promote this collaboration, while James was often immersed in other interesting projects, not least his responsibilities at the Fitzwilliam Museum. James had the manuscript transcribed in Cambridge and sheets were sent on to Jessopp for translation; Jessopp translated the first three books – the more demanding task by far – and James the last four. They also shared between them the writing of the introduction.[5]

CUL Add. 3037 was copied around 1200 and is arranged in two columns.[6] It is written by two scribes in an English hand on good parchment and with care. The volume measures 193 × 227 mm and is still encased within the original binding of two oak boards; in some places marks of a chemise (a leather covering) can be seen.[7] Its quires of good quality parchment were sewn at the top and bottom of the spine, and were also held together with kettle stitches. The sewing and absence of glue also suggest the date of *c*. 1200. Quire 8 (of 11) now lacks three folios (fols. 140–42).[8]

CUL Add. 3037 contains the following works:[9]

Folios 1–77r: Thomas of Monmouth’s *Life and Passion of William of Norwich*, dedicated to Bishop William Turbe (bishop from 1146 or early 1147 to his death in January 1174).

Folios 77v–80v: Isaac de l’Etoîle (*c*. 1100–*c*. 1169) to John of Canterbury (or aux Bellesmains) (1122–*c*. 1204), Bishop of Poitiers (1162–82), Archbishop of Lyon (1182–93), *Letter On the Office of the Mass*.[10]

Folio 80v: A later addition: an extract from a commentary on the Apocalypse, composed by Haimo of Halberstadt (of Auxerre) (d. 853).[11]

Folios 81r–119v: John, Abbot of Forde (*c.* 1145–1214), *Life of Wulfric of Haselbury* (composed in the 1180s), preceded by two letters of dedication, one of four surviving manuscripts of Wulfric's Life.[12]

Folios 119v–168r: *Life and Miracles of Blessed Godric of Finchale*, by one Walter, written in the 1180s and before 1196. This is a reworked, shorter version of the Life of Godric by the Augustinian canon Reginald of Durham, written at the suggestion of the Cistercian abbot Aelred of Rievaulx, who much admired Godric.[13]

Folio 168r: A poem addressed to Stephen Langton (*c.* 1150–1228), Archbishop of Canterbury, on the occasion of his appointment to that post in 1207.[14]

A late medieval list of contents, faintly visible on the flyleaf, shows that another section, possibly a book of law, once formed part of the volume.[15]

Item 1, the *Life and Passion*, is followed by three other main items (2, 4 and 5), all by Cistercian authors; all four works mirror contemporary English religious and ecclesiastical life. They offer accounts of recent exemplary figures – a martyr and two hermits – and a new allegorical interpretation of the meaning of the liturgy of the altar. The Life of Godric exemplifies the qualities of simplicity, which the author of Wulfric's Life appreciated, too; Thomas of Monmouth describes William as innocent, but also as simple and modest, qualities much cherished by Cistercians.[16]

The texts assembled in our manuscript are decorated and rubricated throughout in similar fashion: red, green and blue inks are used to give prominence to initials at the beginning of books and sections; and these inks were also used – often in pairs – to provide pen-stroke decoration to the initials.[17] This is not a sumptuous manuscript, but several workers of a single copying workshop (*scriptorium*) have lavished attention on it. The two scribes took care to mark word breaks with diagonal strokes, and helped the reader with catchwords (as on fols. 48v, 56v, 71r and 72v); the scribe or a rubricator followed instructions still visible at the bottom of many folios; and an illuminator filled in most of the spaces left for initials. This contributes to the ease of reading and of recitation aloud. Still visible at the bottom of several folios of CUL Add. 3037 is staining caused by dripping candle wax (fols. 29v and 39r).

A Cistercian origin for our manuscript is suggested by the contents, but also reinforced by its script, decoration and punctuation.[18] The scribes (or corrector) used throughout the *punctus flexus*, alongside the *punctus* and the *punctus elevatus*. The *punctus flexus* – which aided

reading aloud – indicated a medial minor pause, like a comma, and is a usage associated almost uniquely with the scribal practices of the Cistercian Order from early in its history, at least since around 1109.[19] The restrained style of initial decoration is also in keeping with the customs of Cistercian scriptoria, and reflects attitudes to luxury and display, which were widely considered and debated within the Order.[20] Furthermore, the Life of Godric of Finchale is marked for liturgical purposes into eight readings (for the feast and its octave) with stresses introduced to facilitate reading. Our manuscript is a book of recent writings by and for Cistercians.

Scholars have hitherto assumed that our manuscript originated in Norwich Cathedral Priory, but this is clearly not the case. In 1534 the antiquary John Leland (*c*. 1506–52) described a manuscript of Norwich Cathedral Priory as 'A Life of St William of Norwich' ('Vita S. Gulielmi Nordouicensis'), and noted that the manuscript begins with a *carmen*, a poem whose opening words are 'Illustrious martyrs' ('Egregii martyres'), quite unrelated to any of the materials in our surviving manuscript.[21] The chronicler John of Tynemouth (active around 1350–63) had already consulted a Norwich manuscript of the Life of William and included excerpts from it in his *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae et Hiberniae*. This work became known more widely from its reworking a century later by John Capgrave (1393–1464), the Augustinian friar of King's Lynn, Norfolk, as the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, first printed in 1516.[22]

Early copies of the *Life and Passion* must have existed in Norwich Cathedral Priory for use on William's feast day, which – as mentioned above – was celebrated by the later thirteenth century on 24 March as a double feast with twelve lessons.[23] In August 1272 Norwich Cathedral's library was destroyed by a fire that damaged the whole cathedral compound, except the Lady chapel. That summer there had been several confrontations between townsmen and those living under the protection of the cathedral, the priory's men. The Bury chronicle dramatically describes how the monks were driven out of the priory; their servants were tortured and 'all the valuables in the treasury, vestry and refectory as well as in the other offices of the church and in the cupboards' were smashed, plundered and burnt.[24] Only a handful of manuscripts survived the fire: those kept not in the library but in other parts of the priory.[25] Early copies of the *Life and Passion* must have perished in this manner.

Library fires were not uncommon and some of the greatest religious institutions in medieval Europe – like Canterbury Cathedral – lost

their libraries in this way. In the aftermath of such catastrophes efforts were usually made to replace the lost volumes. Those books most urgently needed for the community's life were usually copied from what must have been borrowed originals. Indeed, the accounts of Norwich Cathedral record the relevant purchases of parchment and ink and the hiring of scribes.[26] Religious institutions relied for more extensive replacement of books upon gifts and bequests. Clearly, the priory acquired a copy of the *Life and Passion*, and mild interest in William of Norwich is evident in the fifteenth century, when a confraternity of skinners made William its patron.[27] At least one manuscript survived up to the time of Leland's visit in 1534,[28] but this is not our manuscript, for it is described as a copy of the *Life and Passion* alone.

Our manuscript was clearly created in a Cistercian house, of which only one existed in East Anglia: Sibton in Suffolk.[29] Sibton was founded around 1150 as a daughter of Warden Priory in Bedfordshire by William de Cheney (d. 1174), the brother of John of Chesney, the sheriff described by Thomas as protecting the Jews after William of Norwich's alleged murder. His brother William inherited the office of sheriff and was designated as John's executor.[30] A later tradition claimed that Sibton came about because John vowed on his deathbed to arrange for a Cistercian abbey to be founded in expiation for 'the many ill deeds he committed while acting as sheriff, both in times of peace and in times of war'.[31]

Sibton was sold to the Duke of Norfolk in 1536, before its dissolution.[32] Lord William Howard of Naworth (1563–1640) is the first-known owner of our manuscript; he also possessed Sibton's cartulary (a book containing copies of charters and deeds), compiled in the later thirteenth century.[33] Howard left notes on the margins of some folios in his distinctive hand.[34] Educated at Cambridge, he lived with his family in Middlesex and London in the 1580s, when he openly embraced Catholicism. After a period of imprisonment in the Tower of London in 1583 and then again in 1585–6, for Catholic sympathies deemed treasonous, he retired to Naworth Castle in Cumbria. Here he ran his estates, collected books and supported a number of Catholic priests and scholars. He came to own more than 120 medieval manuscripts, some of which had once belonged to monastic libraries.[35] Nicholas Roscarrock, a fellow prisoner in the Tower, became a pensioner at Naworth Castle in 1607 and lived there until his death in 1633. Roscarrock included an entry about William of Norwich in the compendium of English saints, which he composed

while at Naworth Castle, a manuscript purchased by Cambridge University Library alongside CUL Add. 3037.[36]

William of Norwich attracted the attention of William Howard. He was perhaps a poignant inspiration in a period when the Howards faced the constant threat – and occasional reality – of martyrdom. Around 1607 Howard had two beads added to his antique rosary, the Langdale Rosary, made around 1500:[37] the bead inscribed 'St William of Norwich Martyr' had on its other side Saint Endellion, a Cornish virgin martyr favoured by Roscarrock and his family.[38] Several books from Howard's collection reached the library of Brent Eleigh in Suffolk, a gift of the Suffolk clergyman Fane Edge (d. 1727), whose signature appears on our manuscript. He had received them from his mother, a woman with Howard connections on both sides of her family.[39] These are the medieval manuscripts that M. R. James was invited to survey. One of them is our manuscript.

NOTES

1. CUL, Letter to M. R. James, Add 7481, Letter J40.
2. For Augustus Jessopp's thoughts about the text and its significance, see also his 'St William of Norwich', *The Nineteenth Century* 33 (1893), pp. 749–66.
3. See R. W. Pfaff, *Montague Rhodes James* (London: Scolar Press, 1980), p. 99. The letters sent by Jessopp to James are kept as part of the M. R. James archive at Cambridge University Library; only fragments have remained of James's letters to Jessopp and these are kept in the Norfolk Record Office. Jessopp's letters make fascinating reading about a relationship between scholars (CUL Add. 7481, J40–J82).
4. M. R. James, *Eton and King's: Recollections, Mostly Trivial, 1875–1925* (London: Williams & Norgate Ltd, 1926), pp. 205–6; also *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth*, trans. and ed. Augustus Jessopp and Montague Rhodes James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) [henceforward Jessopp and James], p. 1. See also *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon*, ed. Nicholas Orme, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new ser. 35 (1992); see below, note 36.
5. For details, see Jessopp and James, p. vi.
6. M. R. James thought that two books were bound together here, since folios 81ra–83ra (where the *Life of Wulfric of Haselbury* begins) are written in a smaller hand (between 36–40 characters to an average line, rather than around 32 in other parts). Other contingencies may explain this change, but the book is fully conjoined at that point. I am most grateful to Dr Tessa Webber for helping me understand the manuscript.
7. I am extremely grateful to Dr Jenny Sheppard, coordinator of the Medieval Bookbinding Structures Census Project, for sharing with me her detailed analysis of the binding, and for confirming a date of *c*. 1200 ('late twelfth-century binding (possibly *very* early thirteenth century'). I am struck by the similarity of the binding to those of several books from Buildwas Priory: see

Jennifer M. Sheppard, *The Buildwas Books: Book Production, Acquisition and Use at an English Cistercian Monastery, 1165–c.1400*, Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications, Third series, vol.2 (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1997), see figure 33.

8. For M. R. James's description, see Jessopp and James, pp. l–liii.
9. See the detailed description in Jayne Ringrose, *Summary Catalogue of the Additional Medieval Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library Acquired before 1940* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 50–51.
10. 'Epistola de canone missae', *Patrologia Latina* 194, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1878), cols. 1889–96; on this text, see Franz Bliemetzrieder, 'Isaac de Stella, sa spéculation théologique', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 4 (1932), pp. 134–59; esp. pp. 135–7; E. Rozanne Elder, 'Early Cistercian Writers', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, ed. Mette Birkedal Bruun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 199–217, at pp. 199–204, and Bernard McGinn, *The Golden Chain: A Study in the Theological Anthropology of Isaac of Stella* (Washington, DC: Cistercian Publications, 1972), pp. 2–7, and on the *Epistola*, pp. 30–31. Isaac de l'Etoîle's writings were rare in England; Leland recorded a copy of his sermons at Tewkesbury Abbey.
11. 'Expositio in apocalypsin', *Patrologia Latina* 117, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1852), cols. 937–1220; lib. VII, col. 1206: 'Smargadus pretiosus […] doctrina confortant'. This commentary was popular in the twelfth century. I am grateful to Winston Black for explaining the use of lapidary knowledge in biblical commentary.
12. Folios 81–82 are copied more densely, and the habitual hand resumes on fol. 83. For a translation of the *Life*, preceded by an excellent introduction, see John of Forde, *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury, Anchorite*, trans. Pauline Matarasso (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011), pp. 2–84; on John of Forde, pp. 2–5; and on the four surviving manuscripts, p. 81. For an edition of the Latin text, see *Wulfric of Haselbury, by John, Abbot of Ford*, ed. Maurice Bell, Somerset Record Society 47 (1933). On the text, see H. Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse', *History* 60 (1975), pp. 337–52; Elder, 'Early Cistercian Writers', pp. 206–7. See also Susan J. Ridyard, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse Revisited: The Case of Godric of Finchale', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 236–50.
13. I am extremely grateful to Margaret Coombe for sharing her research on the Lives of Godric of Finchale with me. Might Walter be Walter Daniel of Rievaulx, the author of the Life of Aelred, rewriting an earlier Life of Godric?
14. I have not been able to identify this poem, although other poems for this occasion are known, such as that by the scholar and courtier Henry of Avranches (see *The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches Relating to England*, ed. Josiah Cox Russell and John Paul Heironimus (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1935), no. 44, p. 54) and by the monk Matthew of Rievaulx (see André Wilmart, 'Les Mélanges de Mathieu, préchantre de Rievaulx au début du XIIIe siècle', *Revue bénédictine* 52 (1940), pp. 15–84; poem VIII, p. 57). Julie Barrau and Nicholas Vincent are currently working on these verses.
15. Jessopp and James, p. lii.

16. On the Life of Wulfric citing Godric's Life, see John of Forde, *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury*, pp. 106, 109, 113, 132. See also Gillian R. Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 37–41.
17. See, for example, fol. 3rb and fol. 32rb. And there are more elaborate initials with elaborate pen flourishes, like those on fols. 32rb and 49rb, which fit the late twelfth-century dating of the manuscript. On such decoration, see Patricia Stirnemann, 'Fils de la vierge: L'initiale à filigranes parisienne: 1140–1314', *Revue de l'Art* 90 (1990), pp. 58–73.
18. I greatly benefited from studying the manuscript with Dr Tessa Webber and Professor Rodney Thomson. See also Nigel Palmer, '*Simul cantemus, simul pausemus*: Zur mittelalterlichen Zisterzienserinterpunktion', in *Lesevorgänge: Prozesse des Erkennens in mittelalterlichen Texten, Bildern und Handschriften*, ed. Eckart Conrad Lutz, Martina Backes and Stefan Matter (Zurich: Chronos, 2010), pp. 483–569; esp. p. 497; and M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1992), pp. 131, 49.
19. On shared features in Cistercian decorative style, see Anne Lawrence, 'English Cistercian Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century', in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. Christopher Norton and David Park (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 284–98.
20. See Anne Lawrence, 'Cistercian Decoration: Twelfth-Century Legislation on Illumination and its Interpretation in England', *Reading Medieval Studies* 21 (1995), pp. 31–52, esp. pp. 32–7.
21. 'Vita S. Gulielmi Nordouicensis a Thoma monacho Monumetensi ad Gulielmum episcopum Nordouicensem scripta. Prologus carmine scriptus est. *Martyres egregii*. Cetera scribuntur soluta oratione', *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, ed. J. P. Carley, R. Sharpe, R. M. Thomson and A. G. Watson, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4 (London: The British Library in association with the British Academy, 1996), p. 307; and the original edited in John Leland, *Collectanea* (IV), ed. Thomas Hearne (London: Benjamin White, 1774), p. 28; Jessopp and James, p. lviii. See also on Leland's visit to Norwich, John Leland, *De uiris illustribus: On Famous Men*, ed. James P. Carley with Caroline Brett, British Writers of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period 1, Studies and Texts (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2010), pp. lxxxii–lxxxiii. A manuscript noted in a mid-fourteenth-century catalogue of Ramsey Abbey was entitled 'Vita sancti Willelmi'. It has not survived, but it may have been a Life of William of Norwich; see B68.373 in *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, p. 391.
22. *Nova Legenda Anglie* II, ed. Carl Horstman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), pp. 452–5; Peter J. Lucas, 'John Capgrave and the *Nova Legenda Anglie*: A Survey', *The Library*, fifth ser. 25 (1970), pp. 1–10. For a comparison of these excerpts with the *Life and Passion* in our manuscript, see Jessopp and James, pp. liv–lviii. William of Norwich was included already in the martyrology compiled by Richard Whytford, a brother of Syon Monastery, and printed in 1526: *The Martiloge in Englysshe after the Use of the Chirche of Salisbury and as it is Redde in Syon with Addicyons*, ed. F. Procter and E. S. Dewick (London: Harrison and Sons, 1893), pp. xvi, 57–8; William also entered the second edition of Cesare Baronius's *Martyrologium romanum* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1589), p. 493.

23. See above, p. xli, note 57. On a 'double feast' the antiphon, a short chant, was sung *before* as well as after each psalm, as was the custom; see Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 122–3.
24. On Bury St Edmunds, see *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds 1212–1301*, ed. Antonia Gransden (London: Nelson, 1964), p. 51. Those identified as organizers of the riot were later tried and hanged at the behest of Henry III. See the detailed and dramatic local account in Bartholomaei de Cotton, *Historia Anglicana*, Rolls Series 16, ed. H. R. Luard (London: HMSO, 1859), pp. 146–9.
25. On the fire, see James Campbell, 'Norwich before 1300', in *Medieval Norwich*, ed. Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (London: Hambledon Press, 2004), pp. 29–48; esp. pp. 34–5. On the consequences for Norwich Cathedral's library, see H. C. Beeching and M. R. James, 'The Library of the Cathedral Church of Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeology* 19 (1915), pp. 84–90, and N. R. Ker, 'Medieval Manuscripts from Norwich Cathedral Priory', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 1 (1949), pp. 1–28.
26. Ibid., pp. 23–8.
27. See Norman Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370–1532* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), pp. 83–4, 206, 210.
28. Many of the books from Norwich Cathedral Priory (which was dissolved on 6 April 1539) reached Cambridge University Library through the efforts of the antiquary Robert Talbot (1505/6–58). His executor was Nicholas Harpsfield (1519–75), a Catholic polemicist with strong northern connections.
29. See *Sibton Abbey Cartularies and Charters* I, ed. Philippa Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1985), pp. 17–18; Leopold Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium* I (Vienna: Alfred Hoelder, 1877), p. 118. Several great tenants-in-chief founded Cistercian houses under King Stephen.
30. On the de Cheneys' genealogy, see *Sibton Abbey Cartularies and Charters* II, ed. Philippa Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1986), pp. 8–10.
31. 'propter multa mala que gesserat tam tempore pacis quo regebat vicecomitatum quam tempore belli', *Sibton Abbey Cartularies and Charters* III, ed. Philippa Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1987), no. 470, pp. 1–2.
32. See David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), p. 125, and *Sibton Abbey Cartularies and Charters* IV, ed. Philippa Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1988), no. 1187, pp. 109–11. The fate of monastic manuscripts after the dissolution of the monasteries and the suppression of the monastic function in cathedral priories in England between 1536 and 1540 is a complex and varied one. See James P. Carley, 'The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Salvaging of the Spoils', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume I: To 1640*, ed. Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 265–91.
33. *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. G. R. C. Davies, rev. Claire Breay, Julian Harrison and David M. Smith (London: The British Library, 2010), no. 897, p. 181. I am most grateful to Nicholas Vincent, who suggested I trace cartulary ownership.
34. CUL Add 3037, fols. 4ra, 16va, 73ra in *The Life and Passion*; elsewhere

throughout the manuscript, fols. 81r, 122r, 134rb. See Richard Ovenden and Stuart Handley, 'Howard, Lord William (1563–1640)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004). On William Howard, see also Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Lord William Howard of Naworth (1563–1640): Antiquary, Book Collector, and Owner of the Scottish Devotional Manuscript British Library, Arundel 285', *Textual Cultures: Texts, Contexts, Interpretation* 7 (2012), pp. 158–75.

35. See Richard Ovenden, 'The Libraries of the Antiquaries (*c*. 1580–1640) and the Idea of a National Collection', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume I: To 1640*, ed. Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 527–61, esp. p. 533. On Lord Howard's library, see David Mathew, 'The Library at Naworth', in *For Hilaire Belloc: Essays in Honour of his 72nd Birthday*, ed. Douglas Woodruff (London: Sheed & Ward, 1942), pp. 117–30.
36. Roscarrock was the author of an anthology, *Lives of the Saints* (CUL Add 3041 (C)), based on his research into medieval sources. He included William of Norwich in the calendar on 25 March (7r) and William also appears in the list of contents (23rb), though unfortunately the section dedicated to him has been torn away. On Roscarrock's *Lives* see *Nicholas of Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints*, esp. pp. 14–23.
37. On the Langdale Rosary, see Ronald W. Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery with a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria & Albert Museum* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1992), no. 81, pp. 526–8, plates 144, 144a, 144b. Two other saints named William appear on the second bead added at that time; see http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O17851/the-langdale-rosary-rosary-unknown. The Langdales were descendants of William Howard.
38. The Roscarrock family owned a farm in the Cornish village of St Endellion; see *Nicholas of Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints*, p.5.
39. On the Brent Eleigh Library, see Ringrose, *Summary Catalogue of the Additional Medieval Manuscripts*, pp. 49–50; and on Fane Edge's Howard connection, see Rebecca Rushforth, *St Margaret's Gospel-Book: The Favourite Book of an Eleventh-Century Queen of Scots* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2007), pp. 103–104.

Obverse and reverse of a coin struck by Eustace, a moneyer of Norwich associated with one of the miracles.
(Courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.)

Prologue

[This is] the prologue[1] to the life and passion of Saint William the martyr of Norwich.

To my father, of reverend holiness, and lord, William, Bishop of Norwich,[2] by the grace of God, I, Thomas of Monmouth, the lowliest of his monks, send my greetings and the due service of obedience. Sharing, as I do, in the love that all have for you, and attached with a special devotion of my own, I have striven to offer and share with you, father, this little work, as much because I want your opinion of it as because I am excited by what we[3] have discovered. And since Rome itself has recognized your eloquence, and Gaul has discovered it, too, and the whole of England has very often also realized it,[4] nobody would therefore wonder that I should submit myself to the wise judgement of your consideration, and be led by your chastisement. Accordingly, let those across the sea, as well as our English folk, know how many rivers of eloquence have flowed forth from you, and what expert knowledge you have, in both divine and secular studies, and what fluency of speech contributes to that flow. Therefore, as I set out to put together the miracles of the glorious martyr William, I humbly implore your fatherly love, your loving kindness and your kindly favour,[5] so that you grant me perfect pardon for my imperfect presumption.

Since I am, indeed, but slow in skill and untutored in eloquence, yet compelled by love for the blessed martyr – since I cannot remain silent about his virtues – so in the manner of babbling children, who of their own accord set out to do what they cannot adequately complete, I, too, have attempted somehow to offer my mumblings about them as far as I can. I do not doubt that in the sight of the omnipotent and pious Lord the accomplishment of a work is of less consequence than is the straightforward motive of pious intention. Hence, I forewarn the reader – if indeed anyone, inspired by love, wishes to read this little book – to seek in the course of this work not eloquence, nor the charm of words, but rather an answer on my behalf to those who envy or

detract, so that some pardon is granted to this new work. I say this, then, not in order to praise my effort impertinently, as if under a cloud of excuses, but rather, knowing the hard labour it has involved, in order to invite those who are interested in something new to read it. Travellers are sometimes more grateful to have a drizzle of water from a little trickling spring when they are thirsty, than a gushing flow of a fountain whose plenty they do not find at their time of need. Likewise, those who delight in the cultivated beauty of gardens sometimes find wild flowers pleasing too. The words of Virgil are often apposite: 'White privets fall, dark hyacinths are culled.'[6]

The subject matter of a writer justifies him, when a worthless multitude of words may displease, but the true sense, or even faithful truth, will not displease. I have preferred, therefore, to forgo my modesty, rather than that so many and such great virtues of the holy martyr William should grow old in oblivion or in the rust of disregard. And since love for my brothers has commanded me to hammer out his [William's] passion[7] and miracles on my anvil, I undertake to make them known to the devotion of believers, in an effort not so much to be elegant but to be truthful. And so, like the ass who is neither sufficiently strong to bear the load nor able to throw it off, I submit myself to so pious a labour. I would have preferred that some carrier more suitable for this load be found, and would prove to be so, but this has not happened, so I prefer myself to no one at all. And although, by so boldly setting forth, I confess myself guilty of presumption, nevertheless let there be pardon when compelling fraternal pressure is my excuse. For it is not presumptuous to make known to those who wish to know the lives and virtues of saints. 'Keeping the king's secret is, of course, a good thing, to make the works of God known is an honourable thing';[8] and it is the duty of each and every Christian.

If, however, someone considers that we have included in this little book anything that appears to be untrue, let that person not, indeed, impute the sin of lying to us, because we have taken care to write down nothing but what we have seen or what we have learned as carried by common knowledge in order to inform the devotion of those alive and generations to come.[9] And let no one assume that out of affection I have provided anything lacking in truth – seeing that it would be better to say nothing at all, rather than to put forward falsehood in order to mislead – since we are not unfamiliar with the need to 'render account for every word'.[10] It is certainly better to restrain the tongue in silence than to narrate falsehoods to the

detriment of the soul. Since, indeed, 'The mouth that belieth killeth the soul',[11] far be it from me that I should lie in sacred matters or 'adulterate the word of God'.[12] But since so much proof of such great truth abounds in our time, why should I have to suppress the truth or concoct lies?

Therefore, let me not be called by spiteful people either a forger or a compiler of lies, as if, to quote the blessed Jerome: 'I was not removing errors, but sowing fictions.'[13] So let the scorpion stop rising up against us, coiled to strike us, and let the poisonous tongue cease injuring the holy work. Truly, as often as some rival of our labour raises his dog's head against us, may your authority, reverend and venerable bishop, protect the humility of our little work. For there are some, led by a corrupt spirit, who, just as they refuse to believe what is written, so also deny what has been witnessed by many. Indeed, they also scorn as falsehoods those things which have been truly seen, not having in faith what the apostle Thomas felt in his heart, 'Except I shall see I will not believe.'[14] But in the Lord's words I say, 'blessed are they that have not seen, and have believed.'[15]

If you are this sort of person, then listen carefully to this. Because even if not everything can be known by everyone, yet different things can be known by different people, and you yourself have been unable to hear or see things known to many [others]. Valour that is out in the open always has its rivals, 'and it is the tops of the mountains that the lightning strikes'.[16] On the same point Pliny, too: 'Many wish to be seen to disparage the best things, rather than to learn them.'[17] Beware, therefore, disparager, lest when you censure things that are certain you are dragged into the error of blasphemy. Amidst all these things, let the diligent reader pay careful attention, lest both our hard work and his efforts be wasted. Let each choose what he[18] wishes and better prove himself to be exacting rather than malicious. For in the house of the Lord both the gold vessel[19] and the earthenware pot are required.

Finally, reader, I beg of you a double pardon: on the one hand, if I am wounding your ears with grammatical faults and a poverty of words, and on the other, if the overflowing page produces distaste. But let it not be vexatious for you to investigate what was not vexatious for Christ to demonstrate, He, who while glorifying His saints encourages us with their glorious examples.

And in case the reader's diligence grows feeble because of the weariness caused by numerous parts, we have taken care to divide into seven small sections the quantity of our little book, small though

it is, so that by taking breath at intervals the pious devotion of the reader may never stop running breathlessly through each section more readily than the previous one. First, then, breaking it into four parts, I have described the sacred childhood of the holy martyr, his venerable passion, the finding of the sacred body exposed in the wood revealed by heavenly signs while lying there under the open sky, and I have added the first translation[20] from the wood into the city. I have divided the second section into three parts: I have offered a fitting account of the holy beginnings of his miracles made public by visions and miraculous signs; next the attack of the Christian-killing Jews is related; and lastly, I added the legal dispute between the Christians and the enraged Jews of Norwich in front of King Stephen in direct speech. I have described the second translation of the holy body and the wondrous raising of his tomb, and then I added the recovery of a light, as well as some other related miracles. In the fourth section, making a threefold division, I have set forth several miracles: first, the recovery of the stolen cloth, next, the wondrous discovery of the holy teeth, and in the third place, the amazing finding of a little spring under the roots of a tree where he first lay exposed. In the fifth section, the third translation is recounted, numerous miracles follow, and the death of the holy martyr's mother is foretold in a wondrous vision. In the sixth section, now, the fourth translation is described, which was attended by a huge abundance of miracles that followed. The seventh section is wholly assigned to miracles and brings the whole book to an end.

The pious reader should pay attention, therefore, to the truth of the events, arranged as a summary in stages, and by skimming through the whole in this short summary will know where to find what he most desires. But now, since we have exceeded the boundary of a prologue, we bring it to a finish, since it has run its course.

At its end, venerable Bishop William, I entreat your far-seeing power of discernment, that you run right through this little book, which I commit to your consideration, with diligent care, pruning anything that is superfluous, correcting anything wrong and, as to the rest, if there is anything worthy, allowing it to remain in its place. Farewell, most holy father.

The prologue ends.

Book One

The chapters of the first book begin.[1] [i] [O]f the portent in the mother's vision. [ii] Of the birth of Saint William and his venerable childhood. [iii] How he was in the habit of going out of his way to the Jews and for that was rebuked by his people, and henceforward kept himself away. [iv] How he was abducted by a messenger of the Jews. [v] How after entering the Jews' house he was mocked and killed. [vi] How the Jews accepted the plan to hide him. [vii] How and by whom he was carried away and hidden in the wood. [viii] How a hundred marks were given to the sheriff – then John – and the Jews were freed from the fear of death. [ix] How a light from heaven, in the shape of a fiery ladder, shone on the body of the holy martyr lying in the wood. [x] How and by whom he was found. [xi] Item, the second finding on that Saturday before Easter. [xii] How and by whom he was buried in the wood. [xiii] How the priest Godwin wanted to know whether it was him [William]. [xiv] On the foretelling in his maternal aunt's vision. [xv] On the mother's lament, accusing the Jews of her son's murder. [xvi] How the priest Godwin accused the Jews at the synod, and how he offered himself to prove by ordeal that they were guilty of the death of the boy William. [xvii] That Aimar,[2] then prior of St Pancras in Lewes, begged the bishop for permission to take the body of the holy martyr away with him then and there. [xviii] How he was brought from the wood to the city, was received by the monks, washed and found to be incorrupt in all his parts. [xix] On his burial in the monks' cemetery.

Here begins the first book.

[I] OF THE PORTENT IN THE MOTHER'S DREAM[3]

When the mercy of divine piety wished to visit the province of Norwich – indeed, the whole of England – and to give it a new patron for new times, it gave a boy who was to be listed among the principal martyrs and to be honoured by the entire company of saints; it had him conceived in the womb of a mother ignorant of what she carried, and caused a fragrant rose to grow, little by little, among the thorns.[4] His father was a certain Wenstan and his mother was called Elviva, and they lived a decent life in the countryside, abundantly supplied with all those things needed for living. No one should think it absurd that God wanted a boy of such future holiness and dignity to be born of humble parents, for He himself, it is well known, wished to be born of poor people. The mother, consequently, unaware that she had

already conceived according to divine will, carried in ignorance the growing shoots of a male seed in the innermost of her body.[5]

It so happened, however, that she was chosen to be honoured with a vision, a foretelling of the great holiness and dignity that existed within her womb. It seemed to her, indeed, as she slept, that she was standing on a road with her father Wulward the priest,[6] who was a famous man at that time, standing together on a road, when they observed a light on the ground before their feet and a fish – commonly called a *lux*[7] – turning. The fish indeed had twelve red fins, as if sprinkled with blood. So she said to her father: 'Father, I see a fish, but I wonder greatly how it reached here and how it can live in such a dry place.' Her father said to her: 'Take it, daughter, take it and put it in your bosom.'[8] Once she had done so the fish was seen moving in her bosom and growing little by little, until the bosom could no longer contain it. And so it slipped away and, coming out of her sleeve, suddenly[9] sprouted wings and flew away, passing through the clouds, and the open heaven received it within.

Having seen this, the woman woke up and reported to her father in the morning what she had seen in the dream at night. And so the father, having great skill in the interpretation of visions,[10] mulled it over in his mind and, after pondering the details a little while, answered his daughter: 'You know indeed, dearest daughter, that you are pregnant, and so rejoice in joy, because you will indeed be giving birth to a son, who will be accompanied by the highest honour on earth and will be raised to the height of the clouds, greatly exalted in heaven. Know also that when the boy is twelve years old[11] he will ascend to the pinnacle of his greatest glory.' It is not to be believed that the girl's father was announcing such firm words in this manner on his own, but rather by the divine spirit, to whom are known all present things as well as all those about to come. And indeed, in accordance with the father's speech, the daughter had a son, who reached the height of honour at the age of twelve, as foretold.

[II] ON HIS BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

After some time had passed, as the day of birth approached, the boy was born to the woman[12] and his name was called William. He was indeed born on the day of the Purification of God's mother [Candlemas, 2 February], the Virgin Mary, that is the day of candles, and perhaps this is significant, since the boy was to be of great purity and holiness, and he much loved candles and their lights. What I later

learned from his mother and brothers, and from the priest who had brought him into the world again by baptism, I have decided by no means to consign to silence, but to insert into my story. For on the day of his weaning, when his father Wenstan joyously offered food to the relatives invited to the feast, a certain penitent – his arms in iron chains – entered, as if to beg for alms from those at table. After having eaten and delighted in his food, he took the little boy into his arms as if to admire him, and the boy in his childish innocence, fascinated by the iron chains, touched them with his little palms, and the chains suddenly cracked and broke into parts.[13] Those dining were stunned at seeing this and, amazed at these wonderful ways, they ascribed what had happened to the boy's merits. And so the penitent, having been freed by divine grace, went away overflowing with thanks; and the said priest, who was among the assembled guests, collected the broken chains and deposited them on display in his church of Haveringland,[14] to serve as remembrance for those living and as knowledge for those to come, and took care to preserve them for a considerable time.

The mother, of course, who loved the child greatly, educated him with the greatest of care, and by her attentive education she led him from infancy to the years of understanding. By the time he was seven years old, as I have learned from the mother's account, he already began to be a lover of abstinence, so that while his older brothers did not fast, he did so three times a week; that is, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.[15] He also observed the days of the apostles and other saints, which are official vigils for the people, with pious fasts; and as the ardour of his devotion grew little by little, he passed several days on bread and water alone. Since he was overflowing with inner piety, whatever he was able to take away from his own food or to extract from his mother by his requests, he gave all away to the poor in secret if at any time he did not dare to do so openly. In all this he was not only pious but also kind, so that he conducted himself so wisely that in the same action he both benefited the poor, so far as was in his power, and caused no worry to his parents. He also frequented the church most willingly; he learned letters, psalms and prayers and worshipped with the greatest reverence all that was related to God. Since divine grace preceded him in all things, he had a zeal for diligent study, and just as he was gentle to all, he was loved by all and was vexatious to no one in any matter. Without doubt, the wisdom of divine dispensation was working great deeds of grace in the little boy, knowingly while he was ignorant, and prudently when

he was untutored. And by some sure signs it was already then indicated just how many merits he would have in the future.

[III] HOW HE WAS IN THE HABIT OF GOING OUT OF HIS WAY TO THE JEWS, FOR WHICH HE WAS REBUKED BY HIS FAMILY, AND HENCEFORWARD KEPT HIMSELF AWAY FROM THEM

And so when he bloomed into such a venerable childhood, and was already eight years old, he was handed over by his parents to the skinners, to learn the art of tanning.[16] What next? He thrived in the tractability of his talent and displayed diligence in his effort; in a short while he far exceeded his peers in that craft and was equal to quite a few of his instructors. Finally, he left the countryside, moved to the city and lived with a certain master, who was very well known for his skill. Rarely spending time in the countryside, and now used to the city, he made great efforts with industry in his chosen craft and reached the age of twelve. Then, while he was living in Norwich, the Jews who dwelt there at the time chose him above all other skinners for the repair of mantles, furs and other things of this kind, which they either had as surety[17] or which they themselves used. For indeed they considered him highly suitable, either because they saw him as simple and skilful or because – led by miserliness – they reckoned they could pay him a lower wage.

But I think it is more likely that by the wish of divine providence he was already destined centuries ago for martyrdom and so was drawn to it step by step by degrees; and so he was chosen by the Jews as less wise and more fitting to be mocked and sacrificed, in disgrace of the Lord's Passion. We have indeed learned from some Jews who later converted truly to the Christian faith that at that time they intended to do this very thing to a Christian; and in order to complete their plan of spite, they chose in advance at the beginning of Lent the boy William, who was twelve years old at the time and innocent indeed. And since the venerable boy frequented the Jews ignorant of the fraud being devised, he was rebuked by his uncle by marriage, the priest Godwin,[18] and by one Wulward, in whose house he lodged, and was prohibited from ever visiting them again. And the Jews, certainly regretting that their plan had come to nothing, persevered all the more keenly and with all their might to restore their act of malice as planned, as the day intended for the execution of their villainy came close and the victim whom they thought they had already caught had slipped away from their deadly hands. Assembling all the adroitness of their cunning machination, they found a certain man – I know not

whether a Christian or a Jew – most crafty and suited to the execution of so execrable a deed of disgrace, and with much haste, for their *pascha* approached in three days,[19] sent him to find and bring back the victim who had slipped out of their hands, as I have already said.

[IV] HOW HE WAS ABDUCTED BY THE MESSENGER OF THE JEWS

As Monday after Palm Sunday dawned [20 March 1144], that detestable messenger of the Jews set out to execute the task they had enjoined upon him, and he finally found the boy William after searching for him with the greatest care. Once found, he caught the boy with lying snares of words; once caught, he deceived him with false promises. He pretended indeed to be the cook of William, Archdeacon of Norwich,[20] and that he wished to have him to work with him in the kitchen. If he [the boy William] came with him, he would thus later enjoy many profitable opportunities. The naive boy was deceived and believed the man. But wanting to have the approval of his mother's goodwill in this matter, because his father had already passed away, he went to her with the messenger.

When they arrived there, the boy explained the reason for his journey, and the traitor spread the snare of his lies as he had formerly expounded them. Promising much, to be sure, that son of perdition easily enticed the childish mind with his empty promises; but at first he could in no way extract the mother's approval in the matter. The innocent boy agreed to the insistent traitor, but the mother resisted, her gut feeling warning her, fearing for her son with a maternal instinct.[21] Now the traitor, and then the mother; he begs and she refuses. He begs in order to destroy the boy; she refuses, lest she may lose him. He claims to be the archdeacon's cook, but she does not trust him at all. Between her and him, as between a sheep and a wolf, who first would you think the strongest, in the fight over a third? The lamb was in the middle, the sheep on one side, the wolf[22] on the other. The wolf stands in order to tear and devour; the sheep stands forth to rescue and save. But because the boy was lured, he favoured one of them and repeatedly begged the agreement of the other; until the mother, persuaded both by her son's many requests and also seduced by the man's good promises, was finally driven to agree, albeit against her will. She then begged for respite for her son until after Easter, but the traitor swore that he would not be without him for three days, not even for thirty pieces of silver.[23] The mother refused, and swore[24] that she would not surrender her son before Easter. And so the traitor took

three shillings out of his purse, in order to undermine maternal sentiment, and diverted towards avarice the unreliable firmness of feminine fickleness, corrupted by the glitter of silver. The silver was offered as a gift, but rather it was the price of innocent blood.

And yet the mother's devotion was still not weakened, nor was her sense of foreboding of future evil easily allayed. It still continued: here with imploring and there with silver, so that if he did not soften the constancy of her resistant spirit by requests, the sheen of the brightness of money smiling at her might lure her to desire it. In these ways the mother's spirit was severely shaken and her maternal devotion was already gradually wavering; she was finally lured by her desire for the shining silver coins and, thus convinced, she bowed to the very thing she did not want, willy-nilly. And what more? When she was finally persuaded, the lamb was handed over to the wolf, and the boy William was handed over to the traitor.[25]

[V] HOW AFTER ENTERING THE JEWS' HOUSE HE WAS CAPTURED, MOCKED AND KILLED

And so in the morning that traitor and emulator in almost every way of Judas the traitor returned to Norwich with the boy. Passing by the house of the boy's maternal aunt he entered it with the boy, said that his mother had handed him over and hastily departed. Then the boy's aunt immediately said to her daughter, 'Quick, follow them,' carefully observing in which direction that man was leading the boy away. And so the girl went out in order to discover their route, and she followed them from a distance, as they turned, taking secret alleyways. Following in this way she watched them at last enter secretly into the house of a certain Jew, and noticed them immediately shut the door behind them. Having seen this, she returned to her mother and informed her of what she had seen.

Then the Jews received the boy kindly, like an innocent lamb led to the slaughter,[26] and he was ignorant of what business was being prepared for him, and he was kept until the morrow. And so, following daybreak, which was their *pascha* that year,[27] after the appropriate chants of the day were finished in the synagogue, the leaders of the Jews met in the house of the aforementioned Jew, and while the boy William was eating, fearing no treachery, they suddenly seized him and humiliated him in various wretched ways. For some of them held him from behind, others inserted into his open mouth a torture instrument known in English as a teasel,[28] and fixed it with

straps either side of his jaws, to the back of his neck, where they made a very tight knot. Next they took a short rope, about as thick as a little finger, and made three knots in places marked on it, and encircled that innocent head from forehead to back; in the centre of the forehead they pressed a knot, as they did at each temple. Both sides of the head were tied to the back, extremely tightly, and there a firm knot was made. The ends of the rope were tied round the neck and around under the chin, and there this unheard of type of torture was completed in a fifth knot. But the cruelty of the torturers could not be satisfied even by these torments and they added even worse pains. Indeed, having shaven his head, they wounded it with an infinite number of thorn pricks and made him bleed miserably from the inflicted wounds. They were so cruel and so very eager to inflict pains that you could hardly say which they were: more cruel or more eager in torture. Accordingly, their experience of torturing him fostered and furnished them with strength and with weapons. And so, while the enemies of the Christian name ran riot around the boy in such a spirit of evil, there were others among them who, in mockery of the Passion of the Cross, sentenced him to be crucified. Once they did so they said: 'Just as we have condemned Christ to a most shameful death, so we condemn a Christian, so that we punish both the Lord and his servant in the punishment of reproach; that which they ascribe to us we will inflict on them.'[29] And so, conspiring to execute such execrable malice, they next seized the innocent victim with bloody hands and raised him from the ground. He was put upon the cross and they competed among themselves in rivalry to kill him.

And when we were enquiring carefully into the affair,[30] we found the house and in it most definite and clear signs of the affair. Moreover, there was, as rumour has it, stretched out as a cross, a post between two others and a wooden beam in the middle, attached on either side to the two other posts. And, similarly, we later discovered truly the traces made by the wounds and the chains. On the right, the right hand and foot tightly bound by chains; but on the left, the left hand and foot both pierced by a nail. And they did this with such care, of course, that if he was at any time found with nails fixed into him from this side and that, it would not be indicated that he had been killed by Jews, but rather by Christians. But while they did so, they added to the painful wounds other pains and wounds, since they could not extinguish their mad cruelty, nor satisfy their inborn hatred of the Christian name. Truly, after so great and so many sufferings of tortures, they inflicted a grievous wound to his left side[31] up into his

heart and, as if bringing the affair to an end, they extinguished the mortal life that still remained within him. And since several rivers of blood flowed from the whole of his body, both in order to staunch the blood and to wash and close the wounds, they poured boiling water from his head downwards.

And so the glorious boy and martyr of Christ, William, dying in this world the disgrace of the death of the Lord, was crowned with the blood of glorious martyrdom and achieved the kingdom of eternal glory, alive for eternity.[32] His soul is exalted joyfully in heaven among the illustrious host of saints; and his body works wonders gloriously on earth by the omnipotence of divine mercy.

[VI] HOW THEY ACCEPTED THE PLAN TO HIDE HIM

Having accomplished their proposed malice in this way, the Jews consulted each other as to what more was to be done, took care to remove the lifeless body hanging from the post, and entered into collective consultation as to what to do with it. Several said it should be thrown into a privy,[33] for greater shame and degradation, but some of the cleverer ones thought to hide it in the ground, lest the Christians somehow manage to find it. Yet the working of divine clemency, which prepared for later times the discovery of so great a martyr, allowed neither that he be cast down into the privy nor that he be hidden in the earth. Therefore, by the provision of the divine plan, making them doubt themselves, not knowing for certain as yet what to do, they all agreed unanimously on the matter, that while they carefully reflected on the issue, they should keep him in the meantime in a more hidden place.

On the morrow, indeed, as day rose, they met again for the business at hand, and, as we later learned from one of them, while they were still discussing it and not knowing entirely as yet what to do, it is said a certain person who had considerable authority among them, divine will inspiring and urging him on, gave the following advice: ‘Listen to me, brothers, followers of the Lord’s law. I consider it utterly useless for us – and I fear greatly the danger which would follow in the future – if the body of this Christian were to be drowned in our privy or concealed in the earth within the area of our houses. Since, indeed, we dwell in rented houses, if within a month or sooner when some new reason arises, we move away from these dwellings to others, I fear what might follow after our departure, and I will be greatly amazed if what I fear were not to happen. For once we have left, the Christians

who will move in will assuredly inspect everything, and one cannot believe that they will not – to shame us – either cleanse the sewers or fill up the old ones and dig new ones where they wish.[34] What then? It is likely and easy then that the body will be found by the cleaners or the diggers. Having found it, in no way will the deed be imputed to Christians, but the blame for the whole affair will undoubtedly be passed on to us. It does not seem likely that Christians would have been willing to do such a thing to a Christian, nor, up to a point, Jews to a Jew.

'Therefore, what remains to become common knowledge, if not the truth of the events, and the discovery of the truth to the detriment and danger of us all? Because of our lack of foresight, and not undeservedly, our people will then be totally eliminated from the realm of England.[35] Indeed, and what is extremely terrifying to us, we and our wives and little ones will be handed over to the Gentiles as victims, be carried off to death, be given to utter destruction, and our names will be as a reproach to all peoples to eternity. So as to avoid meeting such imminent evils, it is wiser that we be provident in counsel and take another route from the one we have planned. Be careful, I say to you, and pay heed to our advice. Since what is done is done and what has happened cannot be undone, above all we must take care both to hide the deed from the Christians and to avoid what we fear. What then? I say the body should be carried away and be left exposed in a place far away from us, where – if perchance it is found – the Christians may think of it, so to speak, as a murder. And when news of the murder becomes common knowledge there is no doubt that the officers of the king's justice, to make their profit, may willingly lend covetous ears to the false rumour. At that time, when the blame has been attached to Christians, it will render us secure for ever.'

Thus he concluded and his speech pleased them all, and in the end his advice was adopted as the plan. The body was seized without delay and was delivered to a suitable secret place, where it was hidden carefully for a while, so that it could be buried secretly when an opportunity emerged to do so. And that day was the day of absolution, Maundy Thursday, on which a crowd of penitents of the whole diocese customarily gathered in the mother church of Norwich, and the streets of the whole city were then visited by an unusual multitude of people wandering about. For that reason they did not consider it safe to do with the body what they had planned on that day. Therefore, it was put off to the morrow, when it would be more

convenient for them to be wandering in the streets and much safer than at other times to go where they wished.

[VII] HOW HE WAS CARRIED AND BURIED IN THE WOOD

The next day rose [Good Friday, 24 March 1144], on which wherever the Christian religion flourishes the ritual[36] of the Adoration of the Cross takes place. On that day, indeed, the custom of all Christians is – by avoiding gluttony more than usual, abstaining from all delicacies and delights, and visiting the churches of the saints devoutly – to persist most assiduously in pious labours of prayer. And so at the dawn of that light, the body of the blessed William the martyr was carried away enclosed in a sack by *Deus-adiuvet* [Hebrew: Eleazar] and another, Jews preselected for the purpose on the previous day. As they left the city with the body and were already entering Thorpe Wood,[37] they met by chance along the way a certain burgess, one of Norwich's richest and most prominent men, that is Aelwerd, by surname Ded. After already visiting that night the churches which are in the city, finally he was returning, along the edge of the wood, with a single servant as company, from that of St Mary Magdalene,[38] a house for the sick in the same wood, on his way to St Leonard's.[39] This happened by the dispensation of divine grace, both in order that a credible witness be present and so that after the body was found the event would not be hidden from the Christians.

And so Aelwerd, coming upon the Jews on their journey, and indeed recognizing them as Jews,[40] wondered as to what it was that one of them was carrying in front of him on the horse's neck. Wondering in this way and turning over in his mind what business was being transacted by the passers-by and what the thing he saw them carrying could be – because Jews did not usually go out of their houses on that day[41] and he had noticed that they had already gone quite far – he held back for a little while and asked them where they were going. Coming closer and stretching out his hand, he touched with his right hand the object they were carrying and realized it was a human body. They, for their part, panic-stricken that they had been discovered and having nothing to say for trepidation, gave their horses rein, passed on and entered into the thickness of the wood. Not surprisingly, the suspicion of evil in the matter struck Aelwerd's mind, but he turned his attention back to the road he had embarked on with pious devotion. Meanwhile, the Jews entered the rough and thorny thickness of the wood,[42] and they hung the raised body from a tree by

a flaxen rope; they left him there and returned home by another route. To them, struck as they were by no small degree of alarm and with new horrors born every time they met someone, I think that there happened what usually happens to very timid people aware of their own guilt. Whoever is in this situation suspects everyone they meet, they think there are pitfalls everywhere, they take the tree trunks and stones seen at a distance to be humans. Why say more? The returning Jews reported to the others the misfortune that had occurred to them on their way.

[VIII] HOW THEY WERE FREED OF FEAR BY GIVING THE SHERIFF 100 MARKS

The enemies of the Christian name were much upset and did not know what to do next. Since they were devoid of hope, while they discussed their common safety, one suggesting this and another that, they at length decided to hurry to John, the sheriff[43] – as to their one and only protector – who was a regular refuge to them. And so the decision was taken by all that some of them, those pre-eminent in authority and power, should go to him and so deal with him that, supported by his patronage, they would thereafter have nothing to fear. They went and entered the castle's rampart and were admitted to the sheriff's presence. They told him that they had a very great secret they wished to communicate only to him, very confidentially. All those present were at once removed; John ordered them to speak up and they said: 'We find ourselves here in great anxiety and we promise you 100 marks[44] if we are freed of it thanks to your help.' Attracted by that sum of marks, he gave his word both that he would keep their secret and that his help would not be lacking to them in anything as far as was in his capacity. Accordingly, once the matter of so great a secret was revealed, Aelwerd was immediately summoned. When he arrived there, under the urgent orders and coercion of the sheriff, he was constrained, willy-nilly, by his word and oath, not to defame the Jews over what he had seen, nor as long as he lived – or at least until the last day of his life – to divulge what he had seen.

Yet the dispensation of divine grace willed that what it had disposed to the praise and glory of God's martyr, and for the repetition of the memory of His own Passion, should not be forever hidden and should be revealed in manifold ways shortly after. For indeed, after five years had elapsed, that same Aelwerd was brought to his last hour, being seized by illness. And at the time of his final passing, he was admonished in a vision by the same holy boy William – who was

already shining forth throughout the whole region by the abundant virtues of his miracles – not to neglect to reveal the things he had seen to whom he wished. Summoning to him certain persons whom he thought worthy of being told so great a secret – the monk Wichemann, to whom in the counselling of penitents the bishop had committed his own functions,[45] and [46] the priest of St Nicholas – while dying and gasping his final words, according to the command of the same martyr, he set forth to them in order[47] those things which he had seen and subsequently knew for sure about him. I, Thomas, monk of Norwich, hearing report of them, and knowing it to be true indeed, have taken the care to put them down in writing, because I did not think such evidence of truth should be passed over or hidden in silence.

[IX] HOW LIGHT SHONE FROM HEAVEN ABOVE HIS BODY IN THE SHAPE OF A FIERY LADDER[48]

While these events were happening within the city, on that very day – that is the Friday before Easter of the Lord's Resurrection – divine grace, which is never absent from its servants, deigned to show signs of its mercy around the body of the glorious martyr lying in the wood. For indeed, around the evening of that day, suddenly a fiery light was sent forth from heaven above, and it stretched out at length to the place of the same martyr and shone brightly in the eyes of many people in diverse places. Henry of Sprowston, once the stableman of Bishop Everard,[49] certainly saw it as he was standing at the door of his house with his whole family. Lady Legarda – the widow of William Apulus[50] – saw it, too; a woman who, for the love of God, dwelt at St Mary Magdalene, serving the poor and in such service, like a beggar, seeking the salvation of her soul. But also the sick of that place, waking up in silence in the middle of the night for matins, had it pointed out to them by the same Legarda and also saw the brightness of the light. Many of them said that such splendour had already appeared to them as they gazed that morning – that is, on Saturday before dawn. Moreover, that light was seen divided into two rays in the form of a very long ladder, stretching from below high up into the east,[51] for, as those who first found the body lying under the sky in the wood attested, one of those rays reached to the head, and the other to the feet. What else did divine grace wish to indicate to its faithful, but to take care and inform everyone with a clear sign how many merits he possessed, whom it so greatly glorified by celestial

signs? In the shape of a ladder surely is indicated his ascent to glory; in the brightness of light indeed is signified that he has deserved to attain a crown.

[X] HOW AND BY WHOM HE WAS FOUND

As the day of Easter Saturday was dawning, that nun whom I mentioned just a while ago, Legarda, was so very concerned by so extraordinary a vision of light that, taking her companions with her, early before sunrise she made her way again to view the light, wanting to know what it was that the Lord wished to reveal by such signs. So walking, she fixed her bodily eyes outwards onto the light, while a light of pious devotion shone inwardly in her mind. The woman went, beseeching God piously that He might direct her by the correct route to the place of the light she had seen, and show her most clearly the sacred things hidden there. Before too long, led by divine mercy through thickset bushes, she was privileged with her companions to arrive where she found, in truth, that illustrious treasure overflowing with a wealth of merits. She saw indeed at a distance a boy lying at the root of an oak tree, dressed in a tunic, wearing shoes, his head shaven and pierced[52] with innumerable cuts; but, seized at once by feminine fear, she did not approach any closer. And when with intent and heartfelt gaze she considered the nature of what lay there, she saw two ravens above it, attempting with a frenzy of raven-like voracity to dismember him zealously with the beak, but in no way succeeding in making contact, they were toppling off from either side.[53] Though they attacked again and again from different directions, they did not succeed at all, and fell back from his sides.

And truly, as I think, with their animal instinct they believed the body lay there by chance and that they were allowed to tear it to pieces with their beaks as they usually did. Yet divine providence indeed saw to it that he was unharmed and uncorrupted,[54] and kept him intact from birds and wild beasts. And then, when the woman saw the wondrous and truly astonishing things that were happening miraculously around the body of the boy lying there – both intact from the ravens and manifested by celestial lights to the view of many – she recognized the [body] lying there to be of many merits. Without delay, having summoned up a brave spirit, she approached closer, shooed the ravens away, said a prayer and commended him to her saviour, and returned home with her associates full of thanks.

[XI] ITEM, THE SECOND FINDING

On that very Saturday after sunrise the aforementioned Henry of Sprowston entered the wood on horseback in order to examine it – since he was a forester – to see if perchance he could find anyone who had taken anything away without licence to the detriment of the forest.[55] And it so happened that either luck or – as I believe – divine will drew his spirit to the place where he had observed the rays of light the previous day. As he was walking here and there in that part of the wood, suddenly he came upon a man sitting there, who said he had found nearby a dead boy. And so, going there, led by that peasant, Henry came upon a boy, but he did not know who he was or where from. While he examined him with care to see if he might recognize him, Henry noticed that the boy was wounded and saw in his mouth a wooden instrument of torture. Seeing also that the boy had been handled with unusual kinds of torment, he began already to suspect from the nature of the wounds that no Christian but only a Jew would have taken it upon himself to kill the innocent in this way with such rash daring. Having carefully fixed the place in his memory, and taking note of the region of the sky, he knew for sure that this was the place where the rays of light shone the day before and where he had seen them stretch up on high.

What then? Having without doubt contemplated these things with great wonder, Henry returned and told his wife and family all he had discovered. And after calling the priest, he informed him of the body of some innocent handled in the cruellest way, exposed in the wood, and that he [Henry] very much wished to carry it away from there and bury it in the cemetery of the church of Sprowston, if he – the priest – advised him to do so.[56] And after anxiously discussing such action they reached the conclusion that because the feast of Easter was about to take place on the next day, they should delay the execution of their plan to the third day, on which the act of their devotion would be more fittingly accomplished.

[XII] HOW HE WAS BURIED IN THE WOOD

So the business of burial was delayed, but meanwhile by these telling others of the affair, in this way the rumour resounded all around and entered the city, striking the hearts of hearers with a great deal of astonishment.[57] The city was shaken with a new disturbance and the streets were filled with restless crowds; and it was already claimed by many that only the Jews could do such things, especially at that

time.[58] And so many stood still, as if shocked by so novel and unusual a matter; many ran hither and thither, above all boys and youths, and, guided by divine will, they rushed to the wood in large groups in order to get a good view. Indeed, they sought and found and identified the marks of punishments on him and, having then considered the matter with care, certain of them believed that the Jews were not guiltless of the crime. Some even claimed to have been inspired by a certain presentiment. When they returned, those who had stayed at home came together in groups, and when they heard how things were, they rushed to see, and when they, too, returned they testified about it to others. And so the whole of Saturday and the whole of Easter Day were occupied with people going and returning in successive throngs, and the whole city was engaged and amazed. Hence zeal of pious fervour incited everyone towards the destruction of the Jews; they would have already laid hands on them, but were held back by fear of Sheriff John, and remained calm for a while.

While things unfolded in the city in this way over two days, the aforesaid Henry of Sprowston, with his wife and family, were about to execute his plan on Easter Monday, and he set out around the time of prime to that illustrious corpse of the renowned martyr where it still lay under the sky. Reaching the spot with his companions – forewarned, I believe, by divine inspiration – he decided to act differently from the plan, because he feared to execute it without the bishop's permission. And so, using a prudent plan, with as much reverence as possible, he buried the body where it had been found. But I think it should not remain unsaid that while he [William] was carried in the hands of those burying him, immediately such a sweet fragrance infused the noses of those present, as if an abundance of herbs and fragrant flowers grew there. Nor do I think that this came to pass without divine will, so that it might happen that he be buried there, and then be transferred later from there for the sake of greater veneration; and though he was translated, divine grace wished to distinguish him there, too, by many signs of his virtues.

[XIII] HOW THE PRIEST GODWIN STROVE TO FIND OUT WHETHER IT WAS WILLIAM

Once the body of the renowned martyr was buried, it became known through some of his companions that the boy William was in the habit of visiting the Jews in days past. Finally, news of this matter reached the ears of Godwin the priest, whose surname was Sturt, and who was

the husband of the boy's aunt. When he learned it for certain from William's friends, he set out to visit the place on the morrow, with his son Alexander, then a deacon, and Robert, the martyr's brother, in the first instance to find out more clearly whether it was him, and if so, to perform immediately the service of burial. And since he could not recognize him unless the soil placed over him was removed, they decided to dig. And so, while they were digging and casting out the earth, as they came closer to the body, suddenly in front of his face the earth seemed clearly to be lifted up from below as if by some powerful force, rising as if being pushed out. When they saw this, suddenly great fear and shock pervaded the hearts of the diggers; they drew back from there and ceased the toil they had begun. But when the priest called them back, they resumed their purpose with vigour and attacked the task they had stopped. When the same happened for the second time, it seemed to them that he was certainly not dead but alive. Then the priest, shouting, instructed them to hurry up, because he believed they might still find him alive. And as they rushed eagerly and already touched the body with the palms of their hands, once the dust was shaken off the face was revealed and it became clear who it was.

Brother recognized brother and friends recognized friend. Brother wept for dead brother; friends bewailed the dead. The more deeply they had loved him, the more greatly they mourned him in death. And when they approached closer, they were exceedingly surprised that despite the fact that so many days had already passed since the day they suspected of his death, they smelt no foul smell from him at all. And what was found to be more worthy of wonder is that although there was no sweet-smelling flower growing there, nor any herbs, the fragrance of spring flowers and of sweet-smelling herbs reached the noses of those who were present. What next? After the funeral was celebrated and the earth that had been dug up and uncovered was put back in its place, they commended body and soul to God and returned [to the city].

[XIV] ON THE PROPHETIC VISION OF HIS MATERNAL AUNT

As Godwin the priest returned home he recounted what had happened to his wife Leviva, who was the boy's maternal aunt.[59] At once she squeezed the palms of her hands together and broke out in a mighty wailing: 'It is true,' she said, 'and the dream that came to me on the Saturday before Palm Sunday[60] [18 March 1144] is certainly true, in

which the Lord deigned to show me in advance and let me know the most certain truth of that event. For in a night vision I saw myself, perchance in the middle of the marketplace, when suddenly the Jews charged at me from everywhere; running they surrounded me as I escaped and caught me as I was encircled. And as they seized me, they broke my right leg with a club and tore it off the rest of my body and without delay escaped, and they seemed to be taking it away with them. Oh, what a true foretelling in a true vision! Oh, how truly happy I would be had the dream I dreamt not been true! When I told you, my Lord, of that dream, I remember you saying that it would come to pass that soon one of my friends would be lost through the Jews, one I definitely loved above all others! Behold, I hear what you have already said to me and I am distressed that what you had foretold of the future has not happened differently.'

Barely had she completed these words when a chill penetrated her marrow, her face became pale, she lost consciousness and, as if lifeless, she slipped to the ground into the hands of those present. After a while the woman rose up, having regained her strength as the blood flowed again, and at once she lamented with tears her nephew whom she loved best. Truly, from that day on, and for a long time, she could hardly contain her mourning, because she lamented him whom she loved most tenderly and with all her heart.

[XV] ON THE MOTHER'S LAMENT

In those very days, as the news was spreading, the rumour of her son's death reached the mother's ears; without doubt she was shattered by such lamentable news and at once collapsed, as if dead.[61] But after a while, having regained her strength, she got up without delay and hurried to Norwich to seek out the truth of the matter. There, indeed, on learning from the accounts of many people that her son was dead and buried in the wood, she at once tore at her hair, her hands repeatedly clasped, and she ran like a lunatic, crying and wailing through the streets.[62] Finally, arriving at the house of her sister, whom we have just mentioned, she enquired both of Godwin the priest and of her sister about the truth and manner of the affair, but she could learn nothing more for certain, only that he had been killed in an unusual manner. Nevertheless, out of many and credible conjectural arguments she was able to conclude that it was not Christians, but in truth Jews, who had dared to commit the crime in that way. She accepted these speculations with a woman's credulity;

and she at once broke out in public with abuse of the Jews in word, noisy clamour and formal accusation. In this way, no doubt, the mother was influenced by the effect of a maternal instinct; here was a woman carried away by feminine and reckless daring. Again, whatever she suspected in her heart she took to be certain, and whatever she imagined she asserted, as if she had seen it with her own eyes; she conducted her roaming through small streets and large, and, compelled by maternal suffering, she accosted everyone with horrible cries and asserted that her son had been seduced by fraud, kidnapped from her by cunning, and killed by the Jews. She turned the minds of all in this matter towards the suspicion of the truth; hence it was cried out also by the voices of all that all the Jews should be destroyed, root and branch, as the constant enemies of the Christian name and cult.

[XVI] HOW THE PRIEST GODWIN ACCUSED THE JEWS AT THE SYNOD, AND HOW HE OFFERED HIMSELF TO PROVE BY ORDEAL THAT THEY WERE GUILTY OF THE DEATH OF THE BOY WILLIAM

A few days having passed, the day of the synod arrived and, as was the custom, Bishop Everard presided over it.[63] After the sermon was delivered, the aforementioned priest Godwin got up in the middle to present to the ears of the bishop and his fellow priests a mournful complaint the like of which was unheard of in present times. And so, silence having been ordered, he began in this manner: ‘Lord, father and venerable bishop, whose past fatherly care is well known – and may it be so for ever – incline the ears of your kindness to our words of complaint. Let the holy gathering of fellow brothers and priests, which I observe attending the synod, deign to receive with a patient ear the sounds of my complaint on a matter neither small nor ephemeral. Certainly, I have come not so much to pursue a case for myself or my family, but rather I come forth to announce an affront recently committed against all Christians. And so I think that it is not unknown to your fatherhood, reverend bishop, nor do I take it to be hidden from many of you, dearest brethren, that a certain very little boy, altogether innocent, has been found in the wood, handled in pitiable ways during the week of the Lord’s Passion, and that he is still buried there without Christian interment. He was, in fact, the cousin of my own sons, and because of the kinship that linked us he was very dear to me. Hence, as I complain about his death to the kindness of your pity in these words, I can hardly stop my eyes from crying. But I exculpate, first and foremost, all Christians as innocent of the guilt in so execrable a killing; second, I accuse the Jews, enemies of the

Christian name, as guilty in this matter, spillers of innocent blood; third, I shall come forward to prove my assertion in these matters at any time and place in any seat of judgement of Christian law. Let no one reckon me precipitate or unprepared in this matter, for if I were not utterly sure of the truth of it I would never have come forward thus far to offer the proof I have promised.

'And you yourselves can conclude that it is so, firstly from what by custom the Jews have been obliged to do on these days, and then from the manner of the pains inflicted and the type of wounds, as well as from the manifold agreements of many circumstances. To these and many other highly convincing proofs of arguments, Leviva, the maternal aunt of the boy in question, is added with her most valid forewarning, as is his lamentable mother, in tears, who complained of the crafty frauds of the cunning messenger of the Jews, who cheated her and led her astray and abducted her son. In this manner, since it is so certain: "my property is in danger when the neighbouring wall [house] is on fire",[64] I turn to you as my sole and unique defender, and put before you this complaint the more confidently in that I reckon you will not depart in any way from what is true by law or equity.'

With these words the priest brought his speech to an end[65] and awaited the bishop's response in the matter with ears pricked, his eyes fixed to the ground and his mind on tenterhooks. And so everyone was shaken and astonished by the matter, and the bishop was so agitated by the atrocity of the deed that he was ablaze with a fervour for justice, and they say he answered the priest in this way: 'Because what you assert as certain truth has not been so far proven to us, we shall take immediate steps to find out the reliable truth of the matter. And if it is established as you claim it to be, you can have it for sure that the rigour of our justice will not be deflected. Nevertheless, since it is not right for a just judge to pass judgement on those who have not been seen or heard, the Jews will be summoned tomorrow, will be tried and, if found guilty by the merits [of the case], the appropriate punishment will ensue.' And so, discussion of this affair thus being delayed to the morrow and the business of the synod having been transacted only in part, everyone left with the intention of returning once more in the morning.

On that day, at the order of the bishop, the dean of Norwich[66] assembled the Jews and proclaimed that they should appear on the morrow in front of the bishop and synod in this weighty matter. What then? The Jews became agitated and they returned – all together – to

the sheriff John as to their only haven, seeking help and advice in so difficult a case, relying on his protection, by which they had evaded many dangers on many occasions. Having thus entered into consultation, John, acting as if he were aware of the truth of the matter, did not allow the Jews to appear at the synod on the next day, but rather sent his own men to the bishop to say that the Jews belonged to him and that they would not answer such trifling charges by Christians in the king's absence. After the message had been received, and with the priest wanting to repeat the complaint of the day before in full synod, the bishop asked Aimar,[67] Lord Prior of St Pancras [of Lewes], and other highly learned and most wise men, who happened to be attending the synod, what they thought should be the answer in such a case. They said unanimously that violence had been publicly perpetrated against God and Christian law and advised that it be speedily punished by the rigour of canon law.

Amidst all this, the bishop, not wanting to seem hasty, nor detracting from the spirit of justice, judged that the aforementioned enemies of Christ should be summoned a second and even a third time, lest too great hastening of the sentence exceed either moderation or the boundary of custom. And as the bishop ordered, the dean did not delay to execute. But when the Jews refused to come, the bishop consulted the wise men after the conclusion of the synod as to what was to be done in such a case. And a common opinion was reached to suggest to John that he should not support the Jews against God and that a peremptory sentence be communicated to them, that if they did not come to purge themselves[68] very soon, they should know that they would without doubt be destroyed. Urged on by these words, John came without delay with the Jews to hear what was said against them and appeared in fury in front of the bishop. Without delay, the oft-mentioned priest [Sturt] arose and repeated the charge he had already made, and promised that what he had testified in word he would prove without delay by ordeal.[69] On the sheriff's advice the Jews denied the crime imputed to them, but asked that over the issue of proof by ordeal they be granted some short respite to deliberate. While the priest firmly resisted every pretext for delay, yet with the bishop's assent [the Jews] went ahead to discuss the case in private consultation. The sheriff advised them what remained for them to do in such a crisis, since, on the one hand, they judged that the granting of a postponement was unlikely, and on the other, they feared greatly the proof by ordeal.

As they discussed their dilemma with many salutary speeches, going

over every aspect appropriately, they found no other sure way out of such a crisis, nothing more profitable, than postponement and delay. If they had these, they hoped that the corrupt favour of the king might easily be extracted by wealth of argument and thereby quash thoroughly the case brought against them. And so, after most of the day passed in consultation, a message was sent to the bishop that the requested delay be granted in one way or another. When their requests were rejected, the angry sheriff left with the Jews, without obtaining the necessary permission, as is the custom. Since it was unsafe for them to remain at large, he protected them within the fortification of the castle, until they could be restored to safety and peace for the future by the royal peace issued in a writ and confirmed to them. When it was reported to the bishop and others who were with him that they had left, because he feared to confront the king and his officials openly, the bishop kept silent for the time being and reserved his judgement – interrupted, but by no means abandoned – to be used afresh at some favourable opportunity at a future time.

[XVII] HOW AIMAR, PRIOR OF ST PANCRAS, SOUGHT A LICENCE TO TAKE THE BODY OF THE HOLY MARTYR AWAY WITH HIM

After seeing, hearing and taking note of what had happened, touched by an inner devotion of the spirit, Aimar, the aforementioned prior of St Pancras, drew the priest aside and endeavoured to find out, fully and carefully, how much could be known from him about the affair. He found out about the manner of the death, both according to the type of torture and the shape and number of the wounds; he considered these details: how else could this most holy boy have been killed except by the Jews in an affront to Christ? Hence, impelled by some inner zeal of piety, he approached the bishop at once and urgently demanded – with many prayers – that he be allowed to take the aforementioned boy away with him. When he did not succeed in his request, it is said that he answered that if the boy had been kept at St Pancras he would not have allowed him to be taken away for any sum of gold or silver, but rather would have guarded him with the greatest care, as the most precious of treasures, as one who had been rightly exalted for his merits and celebrated by a constant cult of veneration. The prior's words moved Bishop Everard's spirit so much as arguments in favour of a cult, that they ministered to the holy boy an increase of devotion. Compelled by this, and inspired by the advice of many, he arranged to have the body of the most blessed boy

brought to the cathedral and buried it in the monks' cemetery.

[XVIII] HOW HE WAS CARRIED AND WASHED AND FOUND TO BE UNCORRUPTED

And so the bishop chose some of the monks, together with some members of the clergy, to lay him [William] out; and he directed those chosen to execute the assignment on the eighth calends of May [24 April 1144]. As they fulfilled his orders and were already on their way back, so great was the multitude of people that you would think that only a few had remained in the city. And so, that precious and desired treasure was carried, to the greatest delight of clergy and people, was received by the venerable chapter of monks in a procession, was led into the church of the episcopal see, and was placed with its bier[70] in front of the altar of the Holy Cross.[71] The bier was covered by a cloth[72] and at each of the four corners stood a candelabrum on which wax candles burned. A Requiem Mass for the faithful was sung solemnly by the monks and the whole church was full, back and front, with a crowd of townspeople. Finally, after the celebration of the Mass, he was placed – after deliberation – between the choir screen[73] and the monks' choir, lest the crowd pressing to kiss the bier – indeed, pushing with the desire to see the body if possible – would be more of an impediment than a help to the brothers at work conducting the required funerary ritual of washing.[74] To be part of such a spectacle was the greatest joy; to stand by, good fortune.[75]

Why say more? Some of the brothers were chosen to wash the body and, once he was washed, to wrap him in an alb[76] and blessed linen, and so wrapped, to put him onto the bier as before. And so, when they gathered to conduct the service enjoined upon them, they undressed the body of its tunic, removed the shoes from the feet and prepared him according to the custom of washing the dead. While they washed, a wonder occurred, more admirable than any wonder. Although thirty-two days had already passed since his death, he was found whole and intact in all his parts. In the hands of those carrying him, he appeared so supple in his fingers, arms and other parts that you would believe him to be asleep rather than dead.

And then something even more astonishing happened, because while he was being washed fresh blood suddenly gushed from his nostrils, and this truly astounded the throng of bystanders. Those who were attending the ritual removed the flowing blood, drop by drop, with linen cloths, and when it ceased they cleaned the face once more.

And those who were present at this wondrous event later affirmed to us that when the body was being washed, and above all when the blood flowed, so remarkable a waft of smell reached their noses that that very sweetness clearly caused one to understand that the Author of this sweetness had truly been present at the funeral of the sacred body. What else did the sweetness of divine presence want to indicate to us, but to declare by it how great was William's merit in heaven?

And we have also learned from the reports of those people that they understood there to be sure and public signs of martyrdom in him. For one thing, once the head was washed, when they studied it carefully between the palms of their hands, among the multitude of thorn pricks some of the thorns had been pressed into the head and had stuck to it. When they found the thorns they extracted them and took care to keep them as far as possible with the greatest zeal of devotion. For another thing, furthermore, when they had looked over each and every part of the holy body, they identified telling signs of martyrdom committed on the palms, feet and side.[77] Additionally, from several of the marks that appeared to them, they found that he had been immersed in very hot and boiling water. Finally, after the body had been washed, they dressed him in a white robe and then put him back onto the bier, wrapped in linen cloths.

Meanwhile, while they were doing this, a coffin in which the most holy blessed martyr might be buried was sought throughout the city, but none was found. So in the cemetery, under the wall of the chapterhouse, a ditch was dug where a coffin might be found and the body laid in it. And while they were digging, wonderful to tell, they found a coffin lying on top of another one. Each of these was clean and spotless, because no corpse had ever been put in either. So this was rightly taken to be a miracle, since among the leaders of the church and its first founders[78] not one was found who could remember such a coffin, nor by whom it had been brought or when it had been buried there. And in consequence we conjecture that divine providence had kept it intact and unharmed all that time for Saint William.

[XIX] ON HIS BURIAL IN THE MONKS' CEMETERY

After all these events were completed, as we have recounted, and after the commendation of the soul was done, as is the custom with the dead, the community of brothers led the procession with psalms and chants of praise; the illustrious martyr followed, to be buried in the

inner cemetery.[79] The cemetery was filled with thousands of people entering from the other side by the gate and there was hardly enough space there for all the entrants. On this side, the monks and clergy celebrated the solemn burial service with praise of psalmody, and on the other, the laypeople stood by there with the greatest of joy. Those who were present, however different they may have been in lifestyle or sex, were nevertheless all as one as they watched.

After the funeral rite was celebrated and the tomb at the entrance to the cemetery on the side of the cloister was properly arranged, the body of the most blessed martyr was taken down from the bier and placed inside. Once he was put in the grave, it was possible for the eyes of all to see that he was wrapped in a robe, and they stayed on to watch for the space of about an hour. But those who happened to stand closest, as I later learned from the reports of some of them, happened to smell there a sweetness of fragrance. In the end, because they did not have one, they put on top a slab from the other tomb, which was concave in the middle, and one stone was stuck to the other with cement. That being finished, and God remaining there as guardian, the convent of monks returned to the church, chanting psalms; others indeed returned to their own homes glorifying God's great deeds.

Here ends the first book.

Book Two

Here begin the chapters of the second book. [i] An answer to those who disparage his sanctity. [ii] Commendation of his innocent and illustrious sanctity. [iii] Of the rose which bloomed again at his tomb in wintertime. [iv] Of the wondrous vision of a certain sick person and his cure. [v] Of a similar vision of a certain little girl. [vi] Of a pregnant woman amazingly freed [from pain]. [vii] Of a certain virgin of Dunwich who was freed from the harassment of a devil's incubus. [viii] A warning to those who disparage the miracles of Saint William and who deny and doubt that he was killed by the Jews. [ix] First proof. Second proof. [x] Third proof. Fourth proof. [xi] Fifth proof. Sixth proof. [xii] Seventh proof. Conclusion. [xiii] How then divine vengeance overthrew the Jews of Norwich as Christian-killers. [xiv] The Jews' accusation against the Christians and the transfer of the crime to them. [xv] How the judgement of divine vengeance also appeared with regard to John the Sheriff. Here end the chapters.

Here begins the second book.

[I] AN ANSWER TO THOSE WHO DISPARAGE HIS SANCTITY

In the book above we put forth the account of the childhood and death of the most blessed martyr William, as much as the report of reliable men allows. But before we go on to his miracles and translation I would like to confront some of those whom I know not what malice or jealousy leads to verbose chatter. Since for some while I cannot bear the shamelessness of their insolence and the insolence of their shamelessness, I attempt to pierce it through with the spear of satire,[1] and curb it with the reins of reason. These are those who, rejoicing in the misfortunes of others, applaud, and who always wither at the successes of others. They are prompt and quick to vituperate and are sad when the stuff of slander is missing. They are most eager to detract and unwilling to praise. And if by chance a little while before they had praised something for some reasons, they soon find fault with the same thing for other reasons by turning the page of their tongue. Just as if virtue and vice were not present in things, but change according to who is responsible. They exhaust the air with tedious barking and with whipping lashes of the tongue, and with dog-like bites are in the habit of attacking honesty, and are disdainful

of heavenly gifts; also they carry great weight when they either dare to destroy the mighty works of piety or diminish or even corrupt them altogether under the pretence of religion. Again, truly, burning with the zeal for truth I shall never stop opposing these and such men by whom the true truth of God is opposed. I have come to fight against their insolent rashness in the arena of this page and to defend innocence.

A second David, I hasten to strike down the reproachful Philistines,[2] rushing ahead from my ranks; I pick out from the satchel of my mind some spiritual claims of reason like stones. And so let one Goliath,[3] upbraiding me, engage me in battle on behalf of the Philistines. And so, already spinning and casting, I shall crush by the sling of my lips the offending forehead with the smoothest stone of the word, and I shall pierce the malevolent chest with the sword of his own tongue. And so, let anyone who blames us for the sin of presumption, and whoever has attributed rashness to us, let him come forth, I say, let him come forth and tell me the gibberish he used to utter. He has been saying: 'Is it not exceedingly presumptuous to accept so boldly what the universal Church does not, and to hold as a saint one who is not? It also seems rash to venerate so magnificently on earth someone whom it is not clear that God glorifies in the heavens?'

Let him hear the argument against, this hard Philistine, who thus objects, though the channels of his brain are obstructed by a stony hardness. Let him also take note that this is how a blind person usually strikes out, he who does not see who or what or how he strikes. If indeed those who worship the memory of those saints whom the whole world does not recognize are to be accused of presumption, then you would find few or none who would not incur that blame. And I would assert as true that, apart from the glorious Virgin Mother of God and John the Baptist and the Apostles, it can be said of few saints that knowledge of them is widespread in all the lands where the religion of the Christian name flourishes. Truly, is it possible that all those whom Rome herself venerates, Gaul and Britain accept for worship too? Is it true that the name of the most blessed king and martyr Edmund and the glorious confessor Cuthbert, famed in all parts of England,[4] is known to the people of Greece and Palestine?[5] Briefly to conclude, is it true that the whole of Europe also is used to celebrate all those which Asia or Africa hold as famous? If it were so, or rather because it is firmly so, what sort of blame is incurred by those who celebrate with fitting veneration someone whom the Church does not know or worship universally? What they call

presumption – to hold as a saint one who is not – we assert the same without a shadow of a doubt and agree in attesting to it.

But because the tongue of evil intent has slipped this in among the other things that we attack afterwards, and it proceeds from the root of envy, we strive to meet the cunning bite in our reply. Let those hear, who impress upon our innocence a canine tooth, who injure the reputation of the most glorious martyr William by belittling the enhancement of his praise as praise unworthy of holiness and so persecute him by diminishing him. Let them hear, I say, the truth of the matter, those who reckon we are mad, and, looking at it with the eye of innocence, stop at once detracting from the glory of the saints.[6] We truly venerate as a saint him whom we know truly to be a saint; we do not then hold as a saint one who is not. Indeed, the text of the previous book bears testimony to his sanctity of which we speak, and that is also attested by evident signs which prove it and by daily miracles. Had these not been caused by divine will, they would not have lasted for so long, because those things which are not of God swiftly disappear of their own accord.

And then, of the other objection that follows, that it is rash to venerate so magnificently him who has not as yet been established – as they say – to be glorified, I ask: let those respond who do not cease from twisting acts of innocence and pure conscience. If, indeed, they refuse to answer, let the attentiveness of the good hear what the cunning malice of the jealous refuses to hear. I ask that he answer, that the cunning objector respond: when did he ascend into the third heaven, so that the secrets of heaven be revealed to him and he become another Paul or equal to Paul?[7] Of his mighty revelation, he should either reveal to us whom he had seen glorified in heaven or whom he had seen excluded from there. Because, indeed, it is known clearly even to the blind and to the barbers,[8] and no doubt he had no experience of all these things, with what audacity of malice does this defiant person so boldly presume to assert that which he could himself never know? And so those who deny the devotion of our innocence and the pious deference of our devotion, whether out of presumption or rashness, should quickly be silent and realize the guilt of their error and their own presumption and rashness. Now, finally, because we think that we have responded fully to the reckless objections, and in responding have truly exceeded the boundary of a prologue, having digressed too much from the course of the narration, we bring back the tip of our tongue to it, with a freshly sharpened quill.

Since the Gospel assures us – with a mighty trumpet blast – that no one whosoever is crowned without a lawful struggle, it appears without doubt that only those who strive lawfully have been guaranteed the crown of heavenly reward, yet each is rewarded according to that person's individual merits. And since in the house of the heavenly father there are many mansions,[9] what else would we think but that surely those diverse habitations of the mansions are assigned according to the diverse merits of these different people? Peter, the key-bearer of heaven, presides with his most eminent fellow apostles seated together on twelve thrones to judge the world. Protomartyr and standard-bearer Stephen occupies the place of middle rank, with a numerous host of holy martyrs, who struggled valiantly to protect the faith of Christ against tyrants and enemies of the Christian name, in sufferings and shedding of blood for Christ's faith, passing the transitory death of the flesh to the life of infinite duration. Then, at the third rank, there is a numerous and joyful multitude of saint confessors, who, scrupulous of life, adorned by good habits, full of virtues, shone with rays of merit, leaving a model of good living to the world and resting in the peace of the Church.

What then? All those who exist in the highest seats together enjoy endless joys, reign together in infinite glory and – like the sun – shine without end for ever and ever. There indeed the joys are true, there life, peace and calm are co-eternal; there everything is good and it is only evil which is absent.[10] In this truly inestimable glory that lamb of the Lord,[11] who grazes among the lilies,[12] is followed by a choir of virgins wherever He may go. To them alone is given the special privilege to celebrate in song the chanting of the most excellent novelty that is His alone,[13] because they preserve, pure and unblemished, the stole[14] of their virginity, and have offered to the Lord a pure and undefiled celibacy. We are confident that the glorious martyr William lives among their holy communities, marked by a triple stole and counted among the illustrious. He deserves indeed the badge of the triple stole, he, who already had two stoles, that is of innocence and of virginity, so that he should claim the third, painted red by the blood of the martyr.

Let none turn away the ears of the heart and the striving of faith because such affairs so rarely happen in his time, for nothing but what I have seen or was able to learn for sure from the most credible people through careful investigation have I striven to entrust to these

writings. To be sure, if the diligent eye of simplicity runs through the truth of the matter even superficially, what else would it see in beholding or perceive while paying attention, but that the boyhood and innocence of the blessed William saves and that the purity of his virginity commends? And by the proven signs of the wounds, whoever it was who caused them, by particular arguments, so to speak, it is proven that he was truly killed; and to this purpose who could believe that he deserved death, given that he was young and innocent with no previous sins? Or that some desire for his precious garments or some other wealth would have drawn someone to commit so execrable a crime, given that he had absolutely no such goods? In whatever manner it had taken place, we accept it for certain because after he was handled in the harshest manner he was finally killed and so passed from this light to the Lord his maker as an innocent and virginal being. Moreover, that he ought to be called a saint, and indeed he is, is testified by the miracles that happen daily around his tomb, by divine grace which itself, in our time and mercifully, does not scorn to present and to display what worth there is in him whom it glorifies.

These miracles we know because we have seen them or heard of them, and at the request of the Bishop and Convent of Norwich, I, Thomas of Monmouth, with God's will, have undertaken to commit them to writing, lest memory of them be lost for posterity and in order to preserve it for future times.

[III] ABOUT A ROSE WHICH BLOSSOMED AGAIN AT HIS TOMB IN WINTER TIME

As a sign indeed of his [William's] sanctity and in order to make known the excellence of his merits, the Lord wished to do something by which He changed the habitual order of nature. Around Michaelmas, some of the monks, in pious devotion, had transplanted to the head of the holy martyr's tomb in which he was buried, a shrub which in summertime had already sprung forth in flowers in the cloister. Immediately its roots gripped the soil, its leaves revived and after just a few days it flowered again to the great amazement of all. All the flowers survived on the shrub up to the Feast of St Edmund [20 November], when a great storm of rain and wind blew up, which shook off all but one. Its red colour and its height excelled above all others, and when all the rest had fallen off it held its place on the top of the shrub and was preserved with divine approval from the rains, winds, snows and winter frosts, and for many days remained on its

branch. Inspired by the wonder, many people took pains to see the flower; and some of them attested to seeing it around Christmas time. And whoever is not habitually ungrateful for divine favours should weigh up carefully that in this matter a mystery of divine operation was present. And while he will find around the body of the blessed martyr William the order of nature changed, he may appreciate that by divine will the rose has flowered in testimony of His martyr and will join in praise of the Lord who works wonders in His saints.

[IV] OF THE WONDROUS VISION OF A CERTAIN SICK PERSON, AND OF HIS CURE

Another miracle occurred in that year, in which divine goodness sought to show us nothing else than that the blessed boy and martyr William of great excellence is in heaven and merited the utmost veneration on earth. There was a man by the name of Lewin who lived in the village called Welney,[15] situated in the marshes of Ely, cut off from the land by waters. Since he suffered from a long-standing condition and languished in a body that was totally disabled, all of his companions utterly despaired for his health. As Eastertide approached, as suffering caused by the sickness grew and with the cold harbinger of death spreading through each and every limb, his breathing was interrupted, the pulse slowed down and as his eyelids faltered he seemed to be approaching his end. By turns he was pale and then for a while rosy-cheeked. Some of those who were attending him, since they saw him pale, thought him dead and prepared him for his funeral. But the more discerning among them, especially because they sometimes also saw him rosy-cheeked and did not believe that he had passed away, judged that he ought to be carefully looked after until they were surer. Others agreed with these as being wiser and strove to preserve him until the third day.

Meanwhile this sick man was rapt in ecstasy, as he later attested, and was taken up through various places, some horrible and some pleasant. Among the former, he saw an innumerable crowd suffering diverse torments and he recognized among them some whom he had known in life.[16] And when they saw and recognized him, they gave him some familiar secret signs to be sent by him and inform those of their relatives still enjoying the light of life, so that they can avoid the torments prepared for them, unless they repent of such and such crimes. Having seen these things he was taken away and passed through places full of horror, and led by an angel he entered a pleasant and flourishing region. He saw there as he passed through an

innumerable multitude of people existing in the inestimable joy of glory, and from there, passing by a road strewn with various flowers, he continued to be led until he came down in front of the Lord sitting on His throne.

Terrified by the unbearable splendour of light, first he froze in his place, but with the encouragement of the angel he returned to himself and, having lost his fear, stood more surely on his feet. And in that shining radiance of light, fixing his gaze, he saw the Lord, ruler of all that exists, sitting on a golden throne adorned with precious stones, and thousands of saints in front of Him. He also saw to the right of the Lord, seated in majesty, the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary;[17] and seated at the feet of the lordly majesty he saw a boy of about twelve years old, perched on a golden stool. His dress was whiter than snow, his face brighter than the sun, and on his head a golden crown shone, marked all over with the most precious stones. Choirs of saints glorified him and above all the angelic orders venerated him. Seeing them, Lewin wondered greatly and said to the leading angel: 'Who is this, Lord, seated on a stool at the Lord's feet, to whom such honours are being devoted by everyone?' The angel told him: 'This is the one to whom perpetual honour is due, whom the Jews of Norwich killed in derision and scorn of the Lord's Passion on these holy days.[18] And it is thanks to his merit that you receive the benefit of a cure at his tomb.'

And this being said he [Lewin] was immediately raised from there and was put back into his body. And when his soul returned, under the gaze of those present his body suddenly shook all over and to those totally terrified people who thought him dead he appeared to have come back to life. Little by little he recovered his strength and after a while he opened his eyes and, calling his father, he recounted the whole story of his vision in order. All those present were amazed by the story and full of wonder, and he went on to say: 'Since the angel announced and promised me that I shall be called back to the hope of health, it is necessary, father, that you set out on the route to Norwich in greatest haste and seek out the tomb of a boy recently killed by the Jews. And once it is found, I, too, guided by you, shall try to come if I am able, and I am confident that there I shall be cured by the merits of that holy boy.' The father rose and, swift of foot, arrived at Norwich; there he enquired about the boy, but could not learn anything certain of such a matter. And while everyone was discussing the matter, someone caused[19] a rumour of the enquiry to reach the ears of the Jews. The enemies of the name of Christ were

agitated and were immediately struck by terror, because they feared the rumour of their guilt would be revived, and they betook themselves and their families yet again into the fortress of the castle, as they had done before. And so he who was seeking the boy killed by the Jews, without receiving any confirmation, hurried home, sad and denied of the fruit of his effort.

And when he arrived home he explained that he had striven in vain and those things he had investigated amounted to nothing. Contrariwise, the sick son claimed that he [the father] had been negligent in his investigation and asserted firmly that all he had said was true. And so he perceived sorrowfully that the cure of his illness was put off, yet he estimated that the hope of his recovery was just delayed and in the meantime suffered patiently. A few days later the priest of that village went to Norwich, because as a priest he could not be absent from the synod[20] which habitually took place at that time. Sitting among his brother priests, among the other affairs of the Church, he heard a priest called Godwin delivering the speech about the mournful killing of the most holy boy William, which we have already recorded in the preceding book. Having heard this, he rejoiced with no little happiness, because he recognized that the boy of whose death he had just heard talk was the same of whom at home the sick man was always speaking. When the synod was over he asked about the place where he lay and, having seen it and taken note, he returned home full of thanks. The priest recounted what he had heard and seen and pointed out the place where he [William] could be found.

When the sick [man] heard this, his strength returned and his strength revived for a while due to his delight. He sat up on his little bed and was already giving thanks as if his health was half restored. Against the discomfort of his weakness, the comfort of joy acted as an antidote. What need of many words? On the next day the father made an effort to convey his son to the venerable tomb of the glorious boy. While this was happening, the sick man lamented that the cure of his health was deferred and the total weakness of the body scarcely kept pace with the strength of his mind, though he overcame the discomfort of nature with the strength of the spirit. The father and son then arrived at Norwich and, making their way towards the wood to the tomb they sought, by the account of some folk whom they met en route they learned that the holy boy William had already been translated from there to the cemetery of the monks, and was enclosed in a stone tomb within their cemetery. And so they changed their course and arrived at the cathedral church and after explaining to the

sacrists[21] their business and their wish, they succeeded in obtaining permission to be admitted to the tomb they longed to see.

And so, when the sick man achieved what he had so ardently desired for so long, he burst into tears – moved by great joy – he bent his knees in prayer, then prostrated himself fully on the ground and poured out his soul to the Lord. Among the many sobs and sighs he asked the Lord that if what he had seen was not a false but a true and efficacious vision, he be not cheated of the vision's truth and promise of health. Next, back at the tomb, he entreated the holy boy and martyr, whom he had seen in heaven so sublime and honoured. And he begged to be cured by the merits of him for whose intercession the angel had invited him to pray. While he poured out his prayers in this manner, his cheeks wet from the profuse tears, he put forth a pious prayer in devotion. Meanwhile, with the operation of divine grace, as some strength poured into him limb by limb, he felt his limbs regain health; as the [vital force] entered, all pain – little by little – departed. After the prayer was competed, suddenly by power of God he felt himself whole and he wondered at the health that came so quickly to him. Exceedingly happy, therefore, he placed upon the tomb as a ritual offering a candle and a penny,[22] which he had carried with him, and left with his father, grateful, safe and sound. These were the first fruits of offerings given to the blessed martyr William, whom the goodness of divine grace has glorified with such first fruits of miracles, and with the passage of time whose merits and sanctity He wanted to make known to the world by an abundance of miracles.

[V] ON A SIMILAR VISION OF A CERTAIN GIRL

After a while had passed, it happened that another vision, similar in nearly every way, was seen by a certain virgin. These visions I know were seen at different times and by different people, but because of the similarities I have decided to connect one vision to the other. And since I desire to explain them to the ears of the faithful, no one should think that I am striking false as true,[23] no one should call me a compiler of trifles or falsehoods. I have presumed to insert nothing at all into the visions about to be told, and have not pretended to know for sure anything apart from the reports of eyewitnesses.

There was a young virgin in the village of Mulbarton,[24] very young of age, who was very religious for her age in attitudes and deeds. She merited to behold a wonderful vision seen at night, by God's will, which she later strove to bring to our attention. 'I was looking,' she

said, ‘and I do not know whether I was awake or asleep, God knows, and – lo! – a dove whiter than snow flew to me from the sky, stood in front of me, and said: “Quickly come forth and follow me.” And immediately I turned into a dove and I could see myself following her as she flew here and there before me. Soon we turned left and came to places of torment, full of horror and mourning everywhere. There the stench was intolerable and an impenetrable darkness prevailed; there was inextinguishable fire and cold beyond cure. There was everything that was bad, the total absence of good,[25] there was suffering and no peace, there was pain and chaotic insanity constantly gathered together.

‘I saw this innumerable multitude of souls subjected to diverse tortures of punishment. While I watched them being dragged from one torment to another in great variety, I was deeply horrified, my mind truly aghast. As I recall to mind the multitude of torments and the duration of these torments, both from the memory of pain and the impulse of pious mercy, I cannot hold back my tears. And if I want to relate all that I happened to see, I could never explain it fully. After seeing all these things, following the dove, my leader, we left behind us these seats of the underworld and I was borne up, steered by the winged oars,[26] and by feathered flight entered the skies in front of a lordly tribunal; I, as a dove, with the guiding dove, stopped there.

‘The maker and ruler of everything appeared to me, the Lord presiding and the choirs of angels in highest majesty. The angels fed off this glorious sight and all the elect were filled with a wonderful scent, and His radiant brightness seemed to illumine the heavens. His attire was wondrous and of the most precious gold, and it was bordered magnificently with the most precious gems. At His right sat the glorious Virgin and Mother Mary, adorned in a robe wonderful beyond description. A host of numerous angels was there, too, and a choir of all the saints was also in attendance, rejoicing with them.

‘Standing among them and very close to the Lord I saw a certain boy of incomparable beauty. To him the greatest honour was being paid by all and his face shone pleasingly more brightly than the sun. His robe was similar to that of the Lord in every way – that is in colour, gems and gold – as if one robe was cut from the other. I was truly amazed by this, especially since I noticed that the costume of the little boy was equal in quality to the Lord’s; I wanted to know who this was and I did not hesitate to ask the dove, my leader. And she said: “This is the glorious boy and martyr William, who was killed by the Jews in derision of the Lord’s Passion and who has greatly

adorned the city of Norwich with his martyrdom. And since he imitated Christ in the passion of death, he deserves to be like Christ Himself in the honour of a purple robe." And a voice from the throne spoke to me: "Go, little girl, and as long as you live strive to show virginal service to this boy and virgin whom you see. Work hard at this, as a virgin persevering in the veneration of another virgin. Have him as your special friend, and you will perceive him to be the most trusted advocate." Having heard and reflected upon all of this, I quickly departed from there, following the dove, and I was restored to my previous place and to my former shape. In the morning I finally woke up and informed my parents of this most pleasing vision and at their advice have come to tell you about it.'

Having heard this and being much amazed by it, we began to bless and glorify God, who reveals to us the unknown for the increase of devotion, and who deigns to glorify His saints, even through the witness of poor folk.

[VI] OF A PREGNANT WOMAN MIRACULOUSLY FREED [FROM PAIN]

I have decided to draw attention among the first series of miracles to that illustrious miracle which I have learned was his first. There was a woman called Botilda, wife of Gerard, the monks' cook,[27] and she held a loving devotion for the blessed martyr. While that illustrious boy and martyr was being buried in the cemetery, she was present with the others and took away a piece of fern, which had been placed at his feet by the devotion of a faithful person; and she strove, guided by a pious instinct, to guard it for future use. After a few of days had passed, she – who was pregnant – went into labour.[28] When she had been suffering more and more for fifteen days, and having taken many medicines, but having benefited from none, she drank up all the blessed water of some relics and did not profit from that either. When it seemed that she had reached the end of her life, under the pressure of the greatest pain, she raised her eyes up and stretched her arms right and left. In her anguish she rapidly looked this way and that, and suddenly she saw that little branch of fern, hanging on the wall beside her, and she said to those around her: 'Oh, miserable me, I am so forgetful! By forgetting I have delayed my own cure. Quickly take that branch of fern and bring it to me to drink soaked in holy water.' Once this was done, holding the goblet, she said: 'Glorious boy and martyr William, deign to show how great is your merit with God and stretch out the most pious right hand of your virtue over me, your

imperilled servant.' Once she had said this, she drank to the last all that was in the cup.

What wonderful speed[29] and what a fitting nature of things! The drink quickly descended from the top to her stomach and after a short while a boy came forth from her womb into the light. And so it happened, as can be truly told, that the one was ingested so that the other [the baby] would be removed and come forth. So at last the woman was free and she joyfully gave thanks to almighty God, who through the growing merits of His glorious martyr William freed her so effectively – within an instant – from the pressure of imminent danger.

[VII] OF A CERTAIN VIRGIN FROM DUNWICH WHO WAS FREED FROM THE MOLESTATION OF AN INCUBUS DEMON[30]

After an interval of a few days, in the town called Dunwich,[31] there was a virgin who from an early age loved God, trod upon carnal lust and strove for the life of a virgin. Many proposed marriage to her, both because she was most beautiful in bodily appearance, and because they appreciated she was known to be of very rich parents. Truly, as many [such proposals] as she had, she rejected them all, remaining constant in her resolve. Indeed, she remained enclosed in her father's dwelling, where she pondered day and night the psalms which she had learned.[32] She could love nothing more than God, whom she desired with all her might.

The devil was envious of her pious efforts and so he sent a messenger of evil to cast her down from the pinnacle of her resolve. And so, one of those who are called demons and incubi, who tend towards debauchery and who often accost women, transformed itself into a most beautiful youth, came to her without warning and appeared to her suddenly. The solitary virgin was terrified by the arrival of a man on his own and was extremely scared. He greeted her and, when she greeted him in return, he sat with her. He pretended to be what he was not, so as to achieve his aim. He pretended to be of knightly status, of a noble family, endowed with manly virtue and beauty, pre-eminent in wealth and largesse. Hearing this, the innocent and modest virgin remained silent and, gazing at the ground, she closed her eyes. He said: 'Listen graciously, maiden most gracious to me. The fame of your chastity and of the beauty of your elegance has long reached my ears. I have fallen in love and have come to see what rumour had described. Here, seeing you, you delight me! What

remains, then, but for us to marry? What is sweeter in this life than love? What more joyful? Both our youthful age and our equal beauty invite us to a mutual love. If like unites with like, the affection will be the greater. You do not know who I am, but in a few words I will tell you. I am better than all others in nobility and beauty and excel over others in wisdom and virtue, too; I am better endowed than all others with vast wealth. And as soon as I make my pledge in words, that is, if you agree to such an offer, I shall without delay grant you so many and such great gifts as your own family has never enjoyed.' Then he immediately brought forth and offered rings, necklaces, collars, bracelets, earrings and many gifts of this kind, saying: 'Receive these, meanwhile, joyfully, my most gracious one, my most desired one; soon you will receive more and even more precious things as you wish.'

What then could the virgin do? How could her feeble sex resist these things? The ears tingle with the announcement of such overblown praise; the gifts of great worth delight the eyes, the promise of riches and power flatter the mind. Yet truly amongst all this her spirit remained in Christ, strong and unmoved. The love of Christ ruled although her spirit was tossed by the waves of temptations. And so the virgin rose up, rejected the gifts, and did not assent to the requests. What then? The malign enemy, thus despised and vanquished, disappeared with his gifts as quickly as he had appeared. But he returned very frequently both day and night, and repeated the same words, offering a great deal and promising any number of things. Silken clothes, gleaming jewels, gold, silver and all of the most precious and beautiful that could be contrived in the world's glory; he heaped this in front of her, setting forth everything she could want. He frequently repeated this, but always striving in vain, he began to press on with ever greater persistence.

But the girl, taking her own counsel and fearing the violence she suspected, revealed to her parents the whole affair. Because they knew that no one had entered her [room], and heard that he entered it every day, they guessed it to be a demon whose arrival was so sudden and departure so swift, as they learned from the girl's account. So the parents applied diligence and appointed guards. But he was not to be kept out by guards or excluded by locks. He attacked her ever more violently, as if by violence he would subdue this girl whom he could not overcome with flattery, gifts or promises. The parents consulted the priests, Masses were celebrated, prayers were offered and alms distributed. The bedroom was sprinkled with holy water and a holy

cross was fixed in front of her bed. It came to be known to all that a demon was infesting her. Thus, when all human efforts failed against him, they also tried to repel him with divine rites. But the demon, who but a short time ago used to enter at intervals of some hours, thereafter frequented her more vehemently, being ever closer to her.

Since, however, divine mercy is always present to those who believe in it, and makes provision to prevent their being overcome by temptations, a salutary source of comfort appeared to the girl who was struggling so heroically. One night when she fell asleep, exhausted almost to the point that she wearied of her life, in her sleep a man stood near her, white of hair and venerable of appearance, dressed in pontifical vestments, and said: 'My daughter, maiden dear to God, do not be afraid of my arrival, listen carefully to the messenger of your salvation. You have battled with an evil enemy.[33] You have endured many sufferings and you have triumphed bravely. A crown is already due to you for your chastity and a prize for your combat. But in order to free yourself from the daily annoyance of these attacks, go to Norwich in the morning with three candles and both your parents and seek out the tomb of the holy martyr William, who was killed by the Jews. You may be sure of this, that upon your return from there you will receive the desired solace of liberation. I am, I say, HERBERT the bishop,[34] founder of the church of Norwich, who appears to you as the messenger of your salvation. Rise up, go, you will be freed!'

What need for more? The vision disappeared and the virgin awoke. She got up and announced to her parents what she had seen. Candles were prepared. They went to Norwich. They arrived at the episcopal church. There they communicated to Wichemann the monk,[35] then the bishop's deputy for the purpose of hearing confessions, and to other monks present, the attacks she had suffered; the vision and the cause of their journey were made public. They marvelled as they heard about the demon's audacity and accepted the instructions of the episcopal vision. And so, when the candles they brought were lit, the virgin was led with her parents to the tomb of Saint William, which was open to the sky at the entrance to the cemetery. There they prayed to God for a while and uttered prayers and vows to the holy martyr.[36] The tears penetrated the heavens, so that heaven poured forth the dew of mercy.

What then? The enemy's malice was constrained, and divine virtue shone around the virgin. For now she was full of hope, and she returned safe with her parents and was congratulated by many for restraining the demon's attacks. By this miracle, indeed, the memory

of the blessed martyr William was revived, for it had been gradually declining and in the hearts of all was almost completely dead. Again, I wish the diligent reader to evaluate and assess carefully from this account what virtuous power Bishop HERBERT, of pious memory, has with God: he deserved to act as a private messenger of divine dispensation and is a diligent patron of the holy church of Norwich, which he himself had founded.[37]

[VIII] A WARNING TO THOSE WHO DISMISS THE MIRACLES OF SAINT WILLIAM, AND WHO DENY OR DOUBT THAT HE WAS KILLED BY THE JEWS

And so, as the first fruits of the miracles through the merits of Saint William became known, there were many, either ungrateful for divine favours or sceptical of divine signs, who disparaged the miracles when they were made public and claimed they were fictitious. These people were indeed hard of heart and slow to believe, and they reckoned that the blessed boy William was lacking in any merit after death, he who they heard had been but a little poor boy, insignificant in life. And there were others who held him in contempt, because they knew him to have been a poor little ragged boy, working for his living as far as he could in the art of tanning. Thus, by no means could they believe that someone like him, of almost no previous merit, could attain excellence of such heights. And there were others, too, who, despite seeing with their eyes or hearing from others or reading in the present text that he was cruelly slain, still say: 'We are sure of his death, but by whom, why or how he was killed we doubt entirely; hence we would not presume to say he is a saint or martyr. And since suffering does not make a martyr, but rather its cause [does],[38] even if it is shown that he was killed in punishment by the Jews or by others, who would believe beyond doubt that in life he desired to die for Christ or that he suffered death patiently for Christ when it was inflicted?' I give a like answer to all of these and answer them also one by one.

To the first, therefore, who insult the miracles, who suggest they are untrue and who do not believe him to be sanctified because they heard he was a little poor boy, we answer: we admit, indeed, that false miracles are no miracles at all, but rather they are counterfeit jests. Indeed, if Saint William's miracles were untrue, they would never have persisted for so long and been so frequent. To be sure, were they not the work of divine grace they would have ceased long before now. Yet we have seen a great number of people, over a long period, suffering from various ailments – blind, dumb, deaf, lame,

hunchbacked, bent, walking on all fours with crutches, people suffering from swellings, dropsy,[39] those with ulcers, with swellings of the throat, the insane – and many others of either sex, suffering from diverse sicknesses, cured[40] by the merits of the holy martyr William. We have also frequently seen many trapped in suffering being freed after invoking his holy intercession; many shipwrecked people saved, those bound in leg irons released, and some freed from the grip of iron shackles. How could we have the impertinence to claim that so many and such great miracles are not inspired from on high? Also, those who do not believe that the poor and despised can be holy, let them hear what the prophet said: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me. Wherefore he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor.'[41] Christ Himself was poor, not having a place to lay His head, and He called the poor – not the rich – to be His apostles; the weak, not the strong; the unlearned,[42] not the worldly wise; innocent children, not those grown old in malice.

Now, seeing that we have said enough about the first objectors, let us move on to the others, who see him as a little, worthless, ragged and poor boy, and seeing him so, feel contempt, and in their contempt say that he should not attain the heights of such great veneration where no worthy deeds have gone before. To them we respond: if childhood were a reason to reject sanctification, we offer them the boys Pancras, Pantaleon and Celsus,[43] whom Christ raised to the crown of martyrdom in their childhood years. Moreover, the Lord Himself set a child amid the disciples and asserted that such were particularly suited for the kingdom of heaven.[44] If indeed worthlessness or poverty is brought as a reason, why did the Lord choose the lowly and abject of this world to confound the powerful,[45] and invite to His dinner the poor and weak, the blind and the lame;[46] and He placed Lazarus into Abraham's bosom and buried the rich man dressed in purple in hell?[47] Once more, if they say this is the reason, that no merits preceded the winning of sanctification, I put in opposition the innocents 'of two years old or less'[48] who were not distinguished by the merits of a lifetime, but whom God's grace alone glorified.

Finally, we respond to the third type, those who know someone to be killed cruelly, but since they are unsure by whom and why, they dare to say on that account that he is neither a saint nor a martyr. We claim that he was surely slain by the Jews, both because it is the custom of *dierum penalium*,[49] and also because of the nature of the torments, and by the sure signs of the wounds, too, as well as by the

most truthful arguments we have from witnesses. And because we know for sure that they perpetrated this as an insult to the Passion of the Lord and to the shame of Christian law, we will prove the truth of the matter with several proofs.[50]

[IX] FIRST PROOF

In the first place, then, we put forward as the argument of the truth that after the mother had been led astray, the boy – handed over to the traitor – went to the Jews, as has been said, on the day before his death, seen by many, and afterwards was never again seen outdoors. Likewise, a girl who was his relative, following him from a distance and watching him on his way, observed that he entered the Jews' house[51] and that the door immediately was firmly closed behind him.

SECOND PROOF

Another most evident proof of the true assertion is revealed. At that time and on that very day, indeed at that very hour, when the boy William was being tortured so cruelly in retribution, ridiculed and crucified to the shame of Christ, a little Christian woman, who worked as a servant for them,[52] as she was preparing alone in the kitchen some boiling water, as ordered by them, not knowing what was going on, nonetheless heard clearly the noise of it. When from inside they were calling out: 'Water! Water!' the woman carried it, boiling fiercely, and served it to those who requested it. But while she handed it over from the outside and they received it from within, she happened to see through the open door – with one eye, since she could not with both – the boy fixed to a post. Having seen this she was horrified; she closed her eye and they shut the door.

What then? Inside the Jews poured that boiling water over the child, both to check the flow of blood and to staunch the wounds; while outside the anxious woman pondered what she should do. Now she abhorred what was being done and was disposed to reveal the affair; now she acknowledged that she was tied to the Jews by contract, which restrained her from her wish to reveal what had happened, so as not to lose the wages of her service. While she was turning her doubts over in her mind, whether to reveal or to remain silent, such terror came upon her that she dared not reveal what she had seen. For reflecting that she was the only Christian woman among so many Jews, she feared that at some time she might suffer at their hands a similar misfortune. At the same time she could not avoid

conjecturing that if the Jews knew that she shared their secret, and perceived that she wanted to reveal it, they would then plot her death as soon as possible and get rid of the whole mountain of suspicion and fear by the death of just one person.

Agitated by these thoughts, the woman judged that her safety lay in her silence and she kept quiet at the time and pretended to be ignorant of the deed. The Jews, however, in the evening after they had buried the already lifeless body in a very secret place, retired to their house as if they had done nothing; all their doors were left open and from then on gave free access to anyone who wished it. In consequence, that woman, immediately when she had free access, entered and began to go about her work assiduously. While indeed she went busily about, hither and thither, she found a part of a boy's belt and, hanging from the belt, a sheath with a knife in it, a needle and a purse.[53] Next she looked around with more care and noted definite clues to what had happened. Later, indeed, she showed us the belt with these objects and pointed out the signs of martyrdom on the doorposts of the house.

[X] THE THIRD PROOF

We add to the two arguments a third, so as to prove more effectively the truth about what happened. After a period of a few days had passed since the death of the blessed William, when the Jews were being charged by law of his killing, they tried in many ways to quell the accusation they had incurred or to evade it for the time being. And so they approached Robert – brother of the boy who had been killed, at that time indeed a clerk, but later one of our monks – with requests and payments, as the one who was responsible for the business of the accusation, but they could in no way lure him to an agreement with a peace-making bribe. He often used to refer to this very matter in our conversations, that he could have had ten marks from the Jews had he agreed to acquit them of the charge of his brother's death of which they were accused.[54]

FOURTH PROOF

Let yet another truthful argument be put forward, by which the vileness of the Jews may be confounded. At the time when the reign of King Stephen flourished, or rather, when justice withered and declined in the royal court at Norwich, a certain knight was accused by the Jews of killing a certain Jew. On the knight's behalf William,

Bishop of Norwich, spoke effectively, as will be shown in what follows. At length, while he contrasted the Christian to the Jew, and one death to the other [William's], he then turned the whole case round against the Jews. Therefore, the king assigned a future date by which each side, before the clergy and barons of England in London, could debate this grave matter in full. And so the Jews of the whole of England were highly alarmed; when he came to London on the appointed day, the leaders of all the Jews came to meet the Bishop of Norwich and offered him a great deal of money. They renounced the charge of the murdered Jew and entreated him that the case of the Christian who had been killed be dropped entirely. But the mind of the bishop, fearing God and considering his own reputation, could not be softened by petitions or corrupted by avarice. Let the incredulity of the doubters weigh these things carefully, say I, because the Jews would not have acted in this way or promised such things if they had felt themselves to be innocent of the charge brought against them.

[XI] FIFTH PROOF

We also interpose as an argument of faith and truth what we have heard told by Theobald, a person who was once a Jew and later one of our monks. He told us that in the ancient writings of their ancestors it was written that Jews could not achieve their freedom or ever return to the lands of their fathers without the shedding of human blood. Hence it was decided by them a long time ago that every year, to the shame and affront of Christ, a Christian somewhere on earth be sacrificed to the highest God, and so they take revenge for the injuries of Him, whose death is the reason for their exclusion from their fatherland and their exile as slaves in foreign lands.[55]

Therefore, the leaders and rabbis of the Jews who dwell in Spain, at Narbonne,[56] where the seed of kings and their glory flourishes greatly, meet together, and cast lots of all the regions where Jews lived. Whichever region was chosen by lot, its capital city had to apply that lot to the other cities and towns, and the one whose name comes up will carry out that business, as decreed. In that year, however, when William, the glorious martyr of God, was killed, it so happened that the lot fell on the men of Norwich, and all the communities of the Jews of England offered their consent by letters or by messengers for the crime to be performed at Norwich. 'I was at the time in Cambridge, a Jew among Jews, and the crime of the action performed was not hidden from me. With the passage of time, when I learned of

the glorious greatness of miracles which by divine virtue happened through the merits of the blessed martyr William, I was greatly afraid and, consulting my conscience, I left Judaism and converted to the faith of Christ.' These words, indeed, of the Jewish convert we believe to be all the truer for having learned them from a converted enemy, revealed by someone privy to the secrets of the enemies.

SIXTH PROOF

But if the doubt of the unbelievers is not dissipated by these arguments, we introduce a most efficacious sign of truth. While King Stephen reigned, both by royal edict and by the support of the sheriff John, the Jews, having now become more confident, were in the habit of insulting us boldly, saying: 'You should pay us great thanks, because we have made a saint and martyr for you. We have done something very beneficial for you, which you twist against us by making it a crime. We have done something that you yourselves could not do for yourselves.'

[XII] SEVENTH PROOF

At this point let another proof be put forward by which the faith of the doubters might be strengthened. William of Hastings,[57] formerly dean of Norwich, as we were discussing once the death of the blessed martyr William, truthfully maintained that he had some time been present at a dispute between two Jews. And when one argued against the other with words of criminal accusation, the other, prompted by anger, turned to the dean and pointed his finger at the Jewish litigant, saying: 'Sir William, what is spoken so confidently before you ought not to be heard by you who are a Christian. He, indeed, was the first to lay his hands on your Christian, whom you call the martyr William, and slay him with bloody hands. So it is only fitting that he should not be allowed to dwell among Christians.'

CONCLUSION

And so, after so many and such [great] proofs have been put forward to manifest the truth, there can be no longer any doubt in my opinion that the holy martyr William was killed by the Jews. What is put in opposition – suffering does not make a martyr, but rather its cause[58] – we ourselves accept as true. Everyone knows that we have seen the marks of torture on Saint William's body, the cause of which appears

to be Christ, as an insult to whom he was killed as a punishment. And, similarly, for the same reason, the glory of martyrdom was not conferred on the Holy Innocents by their suffering, but by the grace of Christ, who was the cause of their death. If, indeed, we ask what happened to the Jewish perpetrators, the following will make that clear.

[XIII] WHAT END THE CHRISTIAN-KILLER JEWS HAD BY DIVINE VENGEANCE

Since it is agreed, both by signs of revelations and by the many arguments of proofs, that the most blessed boy and martyr William was killed by the Jews, we believe it happened by God's just judgement that justice so struck those guilty of so horrible a crime, for the perpetration of the disgraceful act, and that divine vengeance exterminated or dispersed them within a short period of time. For some of them, unable to sustain the growing infamy of such a crime, were scattered to other regions and, as rumour has it, perished by a fitting revenge. Others, indeed, who remained trusting in the protection of the sheriff, were either quickly annihilated by the ruin of death or were killed by the hands of Christians. In particular, we have decided not to ignore the death of the Jew *Deus-adiuvet* [Eleazar], in whose house – as we have recorded in an earlier book and made known – the most blessed and most glorious martyr William was mocked and killed; and, once he was dead, he [Eleazar] carried him to be hidden in the wood. For if the matter of this event is studied carefully, it will be considered as a strong argument for the truth.

In fact, that Jew was the richest of them all and he put a certain Simon de Nodariis[59] under obligation to him for a great debt of money. And when the term of payment had passed he frequently pressed the knight for repayment. And so the knight was in dire straits, because he did not have the means to repay the debt and daily renewed his requests to defer payment. His men, indeed, seeing their lord in such straits, took counsel among themselves in secret, as to how they might succeed in freeing him. After consulting together, one of them was sent to waylay the Jew – who was unaware of the ruse – as if he were to receive what was owed; I am not sure whether with or without his lord's approval – God knows – the others, meanwhile, hid themselves in the wood through which his [the Jew's] route passed. As soon as the Jew arrived, led by the squire, immediately he was seized by the others, dragged away and killed. When the other Jews found out about the death by the spread of rumour, they took the

body away and transported it to London for burial.[60]

Let the diligent reader note in these events how God allowed for just judgement to take place, what fitting retribution He meted out: a Jew – who had with sacrilegious hands killed a Christian in his house and, having killed him, had him thrown in a wood and exposed him to the dogs and the birds – this Jew was led away from his own house to be killed by Christian hands in the wood, and there was left under the sky, exposed to the bites of dogs and birds. After some time had passed, when the king visited Norwich, the Jews assembled in front of him and brought forth the case of the murder of the aforesaid Jew.[61] And they attributed the guilt of the whole crime to the same knight, accusing him in the following manner.

XIV AN IMAGINARY ACCOUNT OF THE TRIAL[62]

'Listen to us, most benign king, your well-known mercy is celebrated throughout the whole world: it is not withheld from anyone who merits it, and, thanks to its favour, peace and tranquillity reign. Behold, we run to you for succour, as to our sole and unique haven, secure in your patronage and not doubting your justice; we come together to you, just judge, true adherent of law and fairness. Therefore, because we wish to have due justice for damage and injury done to us, and in the fear of similar misfortune, we petition for the defence of your protection, and we will put forth in a few words what evil has been done to us and what we desire.

'We Jews are yours, your tributaries year in and year out, often required by you for your needs and always loyal and useful to your kingdom. As to you, you govern us kindly enough and rule with tranquillity; but the audacity of this fraudulent Simon, whom we see standing opposite us, has audaciously presumed to stir up in an atrocious manner events worthy of punishment.

'This man had as creditor one of our brethren, a certain servant of yours, a Jew to whom a certain squire was sent and asked him to come out of the city to the countryside, as if to receive payment for the debt, and en route had him killed. What need to say more? It is clear, Lord King, that your very own Jew was killed and we plead that that is so. We bring to court for the crime of his murder this Simon of Nodariis, and we assert that this evil act was planned, indeed enacted, with his advice and arrangement. And the diligence of the just judge fully knows what consequence so nefarious a deed truly deserves.

'In order that you believe that it happened so, however, these come

in proof of good faith: the fraudulent abduction; the path taken via a diversion; the opportune place and time; and the circumstances that made it easy to take care of the business. [1] The squire sent by the knight was appointed by arrangement, he was well known to the Jewish creditor, and he invited him [the Jew], as if to receive the payment, and led him away; [2] The route was distorted by roundabout diversions and avoided suspicious encounters; [3] On the road through the wood, the silence of the dark night provided the opportunity; [4] The squire's sword and the crowd of his associates, as rumour has it, lying in wait to pursue this purpose, made it easy to commit the crime. What other purpose could the knight – being so pressed by debt and unable to repay – have had, than to enter into a plan to get rid of such daily trouble of servitude, to reclaim his freedom, and, having done so, to put an end to the troublesome exactions?

'And so, to make the matter even clearer, the debtor knight either wanted to pay and could, or wanted to and could not, or did not want to and could, or – the possibility which remains – did not want to and could not. If he wanted to and could, why did he not pay? Or why did he remain so long in bondage? If he wished to, but could not, this inability doubtless gradually led to a desire in his mind to be free. If he did not want to and could pay, thus the inner voice of the evil mind already conceived the misdeed. But if – and we think this most likely – he neither wished to pay nor could do so, it is clear that diligent and careful thought gave birth to the plan of the crime. Again, if he did not want the killing of the Jew, with which he is accused, if he knew nothing of it, if he had not planned it, why did he not repay the debt to the widow of the dead man or his heirs in order to remove any suspicion of evil from himself? Why did he carelessly neglect the undertaking by which he was bound to the creditor? And why has he become so insolent and obstinate that when we came to see him to settle the bond, he hurled at us abusive curses and aimed at us a multitude of threats, which we do not deserve. So we consider the guilt of the murderous knight to be sufficiently demonstrated, since we have explained both the case of the murder and the manner thereof, as well as the insolence of the killer and the audacity of his threats. We do not think it right that any Christian who wants to can kill a well-behaved Jew and go unpunished in this manner. And if what is without doubt illicit be left unpunished in this way, we doubt not that there will be many future imitators of his audacity, and, indeed, that worse will follow. Moreover, being very much afraid of

this sort of thing and mourning the undeserved death of our brother, we beg you, just king, for your clemency, to provide for our peace and security, so that you will not let the undeserved death of your Jew pass unpunished.'

Accused in this manner, the knight first denied that he was guilty in this matter, and then, having begged the king's permission before answering, proceeded to consult his friends with care on the content of his response. And since the knight was, so to say, a vassal of the bishop, by the king's permission, Bishop William went forth to confer with them and to offer the knight advice. And since all could see that in so difficult a case the speech for the defence would have to be something very special in quality, it was thought wise that in this case the bishop should act as defender of the knight, both because his authority would make the king – who seemed already to be persuaded – turn his mind to the case and be favourable, and that his skilful eloquence, by which he outstripped all others, would weaken the plea of his opponents and free the knight. And so the bishop, finally persuaded by much imploring, committed himself to the business. And since he had sensed that the king on one side and those present on the other were already incensed, he judged it best in such type of case to use openly at the outset a short statement to curry favour. With it the experienced orator would approach, step by step, the hostile minds of the listeners, and when he had won over their goodwill with such skill, the rest of the speech would be devoted to turning the accusation around. In this manner, as if armed with weapons, he stood up to engage in pleading the case; he returned from taking counsel with his people and began to deliver his statement before the king in this manner.

The speech for the defence.

'We agree that those who defraud their creditors – who deserve to be paid – and who, having defrauded them, kill them, should be detested and publicly punished. We consider that those who habitually violate trust, think nothing of oaths, pay little attention to the crime of lying, who wish not or know not how to seek remedy for their debts except by planning the death of another, should indeed be pursued assiduously. On the other hand, the Jew, of whose death the knight Simon is being accused, had had in his lifetime very many debtors besides Simon, some who owed him smaller, some equal, and others with even greater debts. If, indeed, someone – in order to get rid of the burden of debt – desired his death, it would appear more likely that it would be planned by a person pressed by a greater debt

rather than by a smaller one. Who, however, would believe that he [Simon] desired the death of his creditor, whose death caused no little damage to him, and whose life was not without many benefits? By what sort of reasoning should I wish the death of someone whose untimely removal I fear and whose life I desire to have extended for all the good that it brings me? So it is with the knight who is being accused of the death of his creditor: if he loved him when alive as someone most useful and necessary in many ways, now dead, he has not stopped mourning him; how could he not mourn him – for whom he had so much love – when he died? And who can claim that he was delighted or pleased by his death – he who is mourning so over this loss? The squire utterly denies the guilt of the crime brought against him. As to the truth in this matter, we will explain it briefly as we have learned it from him. The knight, whom we are amazed [to see] accused in this matter, whom we have always known to be of good repute, mild, benign and harmless, was detained by some necessary domestic matters and so could not go to Norwich, and so through his squire he summoned his creditor to be repaid. The squire, according to the Jew's arrangement, left the city with him in the silence of night and took a route he knew to be quite safe, so that in the darkness they would escape from the notice of evil men and avoid meeting all suspicious ones. After making a good part of the journey, and in a place where they suspected no ambush at all, they fell among thieves.[63] The thieves arrived suddenly and seized them, threw them off their horses and dragged them along violently in order to rob them. Meanwhile, the Jew, as he tried to defend himself with a dagger he carried, fell to the ground, killed by a hostile sword. At which point the squire, thinking of his own safety, escaped from the hands of those seizing him, while the others were busy around the Jew, and saved his own life by quick escape through the thickness of the forest that was there. That is how, Lord King, it happened that the Jew was killed. You should not doubt that the knight to whom the guilt of his death is imputed is indeed innocent. Immediately upon learning of the atrocity committed, he deeply mourned the undeserved death of so notable a friend. Yet not even until this very hour, despite being assiduous in investigating it, has he been able to discover the perpetrators of so great a crime. And we do not wonder that rumour has strayed off the course of truth in this matter, but because we know false rumours arise daily, credence should not be accorded lightly to all rumours. Furthermore, the knight is very surprised that he is charged with threats and insults, because he himself always respected and much

loved the Jews. And so let me conclude the whole matter with a brief summary: the knight is here to prove, as the court will require, that he neither wanted nor committed the murder of the Jew in question, nor knew of it in any way, contrary to what has been said, nor in any way did he insult the Jew. But, meanwhile, by your most serene wisdom, most just king, we wish to make clear to you that we think that we Christians should not have to answer in this manner to the accusation of the Jews, unless they are first cleared of the death of our Christian boy, of which they themselves are known to have been previously accused and have not been purged. And so we explain the whole matter – which pertains to all Christians – to your most Christian mercy, clearly and summarily: that Jew – with whose death the knight is charged, though innocent – together with some other Jews who lived in Norwich at the time, as rumour has it, subjected a Christian boy to tortures of a terrible kind, killed and hid him in the wood. In the days of our predecessor Bishop Everard the Jews were accused of this crime by a priest before the whole synod, but since the sheriff John was obstructive and supported them, the Christians were unable thereafter to have any justice of the Jews. What is more, we have at hand that very priest, who, when and however the court desires, would prove them guilty of the aforementioned crime. Wherefore, if it would not displease the royal majesty, it seems sensible and just to us that just as the death of our Christian, carried out to insult and deride the Passion of Christ, took place before the death of the Jew, so indisputably the purgation of the knight should follow the proof of the accusing priest. And the rigour of justice should not be delayed too long, because we complain that so great a crime is unpunished to this very day, and beg that it be deferred no longer. So let everything be done in such a manner that Christ be to the fore in all things and that due reverence be displayed towards Christian law, as is appropriate.'

As the bishop spoke in this manner the minds of the king and those present were moved and already so very much persuaded that they decided that the criminal audacity of the Jews be punished immediately, and were already more and more roused to vengeance. But, since the subject of the speech appeared to be of general interest to all Christians, the king commanded that it be delayed until the next council of clergy and barons was held in London. And so it was done. A while later, when the council was gathered, William, Bishop of Norwich, attended with many of his men and the accused knight. And a few days earlier the wisest Jews from the various cities of England came together in London to deliberate in joint counsel over the

aforementioned speech and how they might secure their safety in so difficult a case, as the outcome of the affair later showed. Finding no other way out and, if we are to believe common rumour, by giving money to very corrupt royal advisers, they met with the king himself and – as they say – having given him a large sum of money, just managed to extort a pardon from him. They swiftly went from the meeting with him to the Bishop of Norwich, but despite having promised a large number of silver marks and that they would condone the death of the Jew, they succeeded not at all in corrupting the bishop's mind. What need of more? Three days later, the king, bishops and barons all gathered, and among them was the aforementioned Bishop William. After much business had been transacted, he rose with the accused knight. 'Here,' he said, 'Lord King, we are ready to restate our case and to hear forthwith your sentence and that of those around you.' To whom the king said: 'Since, Lord Bishop, we have been exhausted today by many speeches and are still detained by more to come, we cannot show this case the attention it deserves. But wait patiently for a while, while we cut these brambles off, so to speak, and then we can more readily sharpen the hatchet of our justice and apply it, as if to cut down a poisonous tree.[64] And since the case is so very difficult, it is not fitting for us to enter or approach it hastily. For the more urgent and displeasing a case is, the more caution must be exhibited in attaining justice. And so let us postpone the case to another time and reserve it for a better opportunity: when possible and pleasing to us, we will undertake it anew with the help of common counsel.'

At this point the diligent wisdom of the reader should take note that we have inserted into our book this rhetorical disputation[65] only in order to publish the fact that those most wily and avaricious people, the Jews, had they not felt themselves guilty of the death of the glorious boy and martyr William, would not have had much fear of the proof of the priest nor would they have evaded it in every way. In the same way, they would not have paid so much money to the king and his counsellors nor promised so much to the bishop, in order to restrain discussion of the murder, nor, above all, would they have left the death of the murdered Jew alone without complaint, without any settlement or compensation. It appears, therefore, that they were fully aware of the great crime. And so, though they are indeed most avaricious, because of their guilt they were not averse to buying a remedy for their fear.

XV HOW THE JUDGEMENT OF DIVINE REVENGE APPEARED WITH REGARD TO JOHN THE SHERIFF, PROTECTOR OF THE JEWS

We would not on any account pass over the death of the sheriff John, which we believe to have been caused by the fitting wrath of God. Indeed, from the very day of the synod at which – as we have recorded in the previous book – he had withdrawn the Jews from Christian justice, having been remunerated with many gifts, he began to suffer from an incurable disease. For truly, as he later attested to his own associates, from whom I learned this very thing after his death, at the very moment in time that he began to protect the Jews and clearly to oppose Christian law – as has been described above – drops of blood began to flow, drop by drop, through his posterior.[66] And so divine vengeance showed itself around him, so he himself could truly say with the Jews: 'His innocent blood be upon us and our children.'[67] And so, for two years, with the blood flowing from him often through his lower parts, the power of his body was diminished by the lack of blood, inducing facial pallor, and, although he clearly felt the wrath of God upon him, he was so obstinate that he would not repent. But in the third year, in which he roused and sharpened the wrath of God even more against him and accelerated the planned revenge of divine providence against him, he made bold to disturb the peace of the church of Norwich with daring audacity and presumed to disturb its right, which pertains to its dignity – confirmed by kings and by the pontiffs of the apostolic see – to elect its bishop.[68] For such great evils he deserved the wrath of God and by God's wish the mentioned disease intensified in him. And when the Prior of Norwich, William, was appointed to that church and consecrated bishop, John suffered so greatly from the disease that he was utterly unable to return from London[69] – where the events took place – to Norwich, because of the worsening of the disease. But he turned off the way at Mileham,[70] hardly able to reach it, and after a few days, weak with the unceasing flow of blood, his powers as well as his blood exhausted, he met his end, I hope then, at least, in a state of penitence. And so, may the diligent reader ponder on these issues with care: divine vengeance will fall heavily on him who does not fear to oppose the Holy Church and Christian law in this manner.

Here ends the second book.

Book Three

The chapters of the third book begin. [i] Of his translation from the cemetery to the chapterhouse; how, although the order of the bishop and Prior Elias urged it, the tomb of the saint could not be made level with that of the chapterhouse pavement. [ii] Of the subsequent public rising of the tomb. [iii] Of the cloth that was removed and the light that was forbidden. [iv] Of a certain clerk who was freed of toothache on Easter Day. [v] Of a monk who was similarly freed. [vi] Of the vision of a monk, Peter Peverell by name, who had once been a knight in the world, and his correction. [vii] How the sick wife of Geoffrey of March came to the tomb of the holy martyr and returned healthy. [viii] How Muriel, wife of Alan of Setchy,[1] was freed of a certain illness of hers, at his tomb. [ix] Of a little boy close to death and cured by the merits of the holy martyr. [x] How a monk who suffered from lack of sleep had sleep restored immediately upon petitioning the holy martyr. [xi] That Lady Mabel de Bec and her sons experienced the power of the holy martyr. [xii] Of the vision of Richard of Lynn and his death, and on the restoration of light in the chapterhouse. [xiii] How W. the sacrist[2] was cured of pain in the head and deafness by the merits of the holy martyr. [xiv] Of one Aldith, who was freed from a long-standing illness. [xv] Of another woman who suffered for a long time and was cured miraculously by a vision. [xvi] Of a mute boy led to the tomb by a vision, and how he recovered the power of speech. [xvii] Of a boy cured of a year-long dysentery. [xviii] Of a certain woman from Ormesby, restored to health. [xix] How divine power came to the aid of sailors in danger at sea, thanks to the merits of the holy martyr. [xx] Of the ailing pigs of a poor woman who were cured. [xxi] How mortality among oxen was frequently halted thanks to the power of the holy martyr William. [xxii] Of a certain Ida, freed from very grave suffering. [xxiii] Of the amazing vision of a certain virgin. [xxiv] Of a certain Goldeburga who was ill and then was cured. [xxv] Of the daughter of Bartholomew of Creake, freed from fevers. [xxvi] Of a certain sufferer from dropsy who was cured. [xxvii] Of a certain ten-year-old boy who was brought to the tomb of the holy martyr and immediately sensed the lifting of his long-standing illness. [xxviii] How a certain Hildebrand recovered from his illness. [xxix] How the sacrist of Holy Trinity Church in Canterbury[3] sensed the power of the holy martyr William manifest in the healing of his palfrey and his clerk. [xxx] How a certain Emma of Wighton was cured of a most serious illness at the tomb of the most holy martyr. [xxxi] How many people received a remedy for their ailments by drinking dust scraped off the surface of his tomb with holy water. [xxxii] How the son of Aluric, of the monks' tailor shop, was cured of a swelling in his

throat.

Here begins the third book.[4]

[I] OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE SAINT'S BODY TO THE CHAPTERHOUSE

When the grace of Christ, which moderates all things, wished to make His blessed and glorious martyr [even] more glorious, and to make manifest to faithful folk in what glory he lives after his death in the flesh, He indicated by a venerable and wondrous revelation that he [William] should be transferred from the cemetery. Indeed, six years had passed since the burial of the blessed martyr William in the cemetery; on Tuesday of the first week of Lent [7 March 1150], while I, Thomas of Norwich,[5] was resting in bed in the dormitory of the monk-brethren after matins, I was rewarded by seeing in a dream at night a venerable and memorable vision inspired by divine grace. I saw in my presence a man of a venerable appearance, grey with age, dressed in episcopal garb shining with incomparable whiteness. He raised at me the crozier that he carried and said: 'Rise, brother, and hurry to tell Elias[6] the prior, my beloved son, that he himself should inform Bishop William on my behalf that as soon as possible the most precious treasure which the brothers have buried in the cemetery, they should transfer from there. Because if, moved by negligence, they fail to obey the paternal command, let them realize that they will quickly lose him, to the greatest detriment of [their] church.' Then, asking who it was who announced these things to me, he responded: 'I am that HERBERT first founder of the church of Norwich by the grace of God. Go then, brother, and carry to the sons these tokens of [my] fatherly command. Let them remember, I say, that when I used to set off to the royal court they would urge me to strive and procure from the king some venerable relics of the saints, for the honour of their church. I used to say to them that I would not seek those just then, but rather lands and incomes, because after a certain period of time, by the working of divine grace, it would soon happen that they would have so many and such venerable relics that the church of Norwich would be much exalted and become famous in the whole of England and venerated in foreign parts. These are, I say, the relics whose transfer I have foretold and which, unless they are brought indoors soon, a thief – pondering in his mind, drawn by such a prize – might gird himself to take them away. Therefore, in the morning, brother, when you wake up, do not fail to relate to the sons that I have made these fatherly commands.'

Once he had said this, he departed. When I woke up, while I turned

the vision over in my mind with care, immediately the revelation of Gamaliel to Lucian occurred to me.[7] Therefore, I deliberately refrained from fulfilling the command imposed upon me, because I greatly hoped for a second or third revelation. After two weeks had passed, before daybreak on the Sunday when *Oculi mei*[8] is chanted, resting where I had done before, the same venerable Bishop Herbert appeared to be present and said: 'Why, brother, have you delayed in the business enjoined upon you? Why have you not obeyed our command? Be a prompt messenger, because it is most necessary for the church that this business be completed. Behold those who are attracted by very many rewards, who would steal and take away the treasure of which I have spoken. Rise, then, brother, rise, and do not delay in fulfilling the command enjoined upon you.' Upon saying this he disappeared. And so, rising, as dawn had already broken, I immediately hurried to the church and poured out my soul to the Lord in prayer before the high altar. With many prayers and tears I begged for divine mercy, lest I be deprived of a third revelation. And what I requested I merited to receive by God's will. Because as dawn broke on the Sunday when the church customarily chants *Isti sunt dies quos observare debetis*,[9] as I rested in bed, the aforementioned Bishop Herbert appeared to come to me, holding with his right hand a boy about twelve years old, and he touched and woke me with the crozier he carried in his left hand. I woke up, and yet I was not – I believe – quite awake, I turned my eyes upwards with a slightly raised head and saw him in front of me in the manner I described. He, as if in displeasure, shaking his head and threatening with his crozier, said to me: 'Had he whom you see me holding in my right hand not been your patron, not interceded for you, you would have already incurred a most bitter punishment for disobeying your father's command.' Then, grabbing me by the left arm, he pinched me, shook me and left visible marks of his thumb imprinted on my arm. And he said: 'You, indeed, Thomas, were a doubting Thomas,[10] but at least believe now. Here is, I say, the glorious boy and true imitator of the Lord's Passion, William, who demands to be transferred without delay from the cemetery indoors. And if this is not done with greatest haste, let the brethren know for sure that they will soon lose him, unless God prevents it. Arise, then, and when you do, tell the bishop and prior what we have enjoined upon you to tell them. The place, indeed, where he has chosen to dwell henceforth is the chapterhouse and his tombstone is to be placed among the seats of the choirboys.'[11]

Once these things were said I swiftly dressed in my habit and,

removing the tip of my cowl from my eyes, I searched diligently for the bishop and the boy I had previously seen. And since, in fact, they did not appear and therefore I thought I had seen those things only in my sleep, my eyes at that time being heavy and full of sleep, I put my head down and went back to sleep. Then again it appeared to me as if some of the brethren approached the tomb of the blessed martyr William with me, at the prior's behest, opened it and found it to be full of the purest and brightest silver. When we took it, wrapping it in the cleanest cloths, and carried it into the cloister, led by the bishop and prior, a great gathering of people dressed in white came towards us, as if about to receive the treasure. And it seemed to me that after it had been censed, with the brethren leading the way in procession, we carried it into the church in front of the high altar. In a sermon to the people the bishop showed the treasure that had been bestowed by the grace of God on the people of Norwich for their great veneration. Then the most blessed boy and martyr rose and, addressing the bishop, said: 'Command, Lord Father, that a little bed be prepared for me in the chapterhouse, because I wish to rest there a little while, as a boy among boys, and later I shall return once again to the church.' And so the bishop ordered that he should be carried to where he asked to be. And it appeared to me that this had happened in a dream and I suddenly awoke, and I wondered when I looked around and could see nothing of what I had earlier seen. I recognized it was a vision in my sleep.

But when I woke up in the morning, when according to the rule speech is permitted,[12] I came to Prior Elias and divulged the fatherly instructions to him. He was truly overjoyed, first because he perceived the true signs of the father, and then because he saw honour of great worth coming to the church of Norwich, and in turn he retold to the bishop the vision and all that had happened. So the bishop gave thanks to God for these events and began immediately to discuss with the prior the manner of the translation. What need of more? The day, hour and manner of the event were decided, as well as the brethren who should undertake the business. Six were appointed to it, and I, Thomas, earned a place among them. And so, when the hour arrived on the appointed day, that is Wednesday after Palm Sunday [12 April 1150], at night after lauds were completed, when the whole convent – apart from us six – had retired to the dormitory, after chanting seven psalms with a litany, we set to work before dawn to execute the task enjoined upon us. As we were approaching the tomb in which that illustrious dust of the blessed martyr was hidden, and hesitating as to

who would strike the first blow, suddenly we were seized by horror. And it was I who regained my courage while my colleagues were transfixed by fear: I grabbed an iron wedge and inserted it at a joining of the stones; I hit it hard with a big mallet and on the third blow the wedge penetrated the stones and they began to separate. Seeing this, my colleagues mustered their courage and worked together to move the upper stone. Having removed it, while the others fell back, not daring to fix their gaze within, I and another of my colleagues boldly approached and invited the others to gaze upon it. Then, having applied ample candlelight, we all contemplated the truth as it actually was. While we gazed at him, I saw two front teeth, separated from the jaw and set apart. When I saw them I at first hesitated as to whether I should take them, tempted to carry out a pious theft[13] without the knowledge of my colleagues, then I picked them up; having taken them, I wrapped them in a very clean cloth and, thus wrapped, I hid them in a secret place. No one could know that I had them, until later he himself revealed it. Once they were revealed, we proved that many people were cured on many occasions – as will be recounted in what follows[14] – by the water in which we used to wash the teeth.

And so the martyr was raised up with the utmost reverence and we wrapped him in the whitest linen and covered him with a cloth, and we completed everything with diligent care just as dawn broke. Then, having chanted prime, the convent solemnly approached and carried him to the chapterhouse, where the grave had been prepared by the stonecutters and masons and the coffin inserted into it, in the very place that he had asked for in the vision. But to the eyes of those present a wondrous thing appeared, most amazing of all to me. For both the mandate of the bishop, and the prior who attended and gave orders as to how the thing should be done, instructed that the coffin should be buried in the grave level with the pavement and protrude above it not at all or very little; and so the masons strove to execute both the mandate sent by the bishop and the order of the prior delivered on the spot. So with the greatest of care, and comparing the thickness of the coffin with the depth of the grave, they had no doubt at all that they had executed the task as was desired. But by the working of divine grace the outcome turned out to be the opposite. In this case, man and servant disposed in one way, but God and Lord had preordained in another for the veneration of His martyr. The coffin was put in the grave and the body in the coffin; but the tomb slab put on top was found to protrude almost wholly above the pavement. Seeing this, the indignant prior immediately ordered the removal of

the slab, the body to be exposed again and the earth to be re-dug and put aside, so that when the body was reburied and the slab put back, the tomb would be level with the pavement. And while the workers toiled with care at this job, God – who is glorious in His saints – openly glorified His servant martyr. Because the tomb, which protruded before, against the wishes of the prior, with divine grace operating secretly, was now seen by the eyes of those present to be still protruding. And seeing this, the convent of brothers rejoiced, and many even cried for joy; and those who a little earlier were saddened by the lowering of the coffin, later rejoiced greatly by its rising through the public display of divine power. The prior was dumbfounded by this and allowed it to remain so, since he did not believe it safe to resist divine power any further.

[II] OF THE PUBLIC RISING OF THE TOMB

By the witness of truth, we have learned it indeed to be true that the exalted on high will be made humble, and, equally, the humble will be exalted.[15] For when the Lord spoke in parables to those invited, He warned them that he who is invited to a wedding should not sit down in the prime place, lest another more honourable person should come and compel him with shame to take the lower place. Then He went on, instructing the guest to sit down in the lowest place, so that when the host observes and discovers his guest's deserts, he may merit to hear [him say]: 'Friend, rise up.'[16] Then, indeed, each of them would be awarded according to his merit, so that he who exalts himself shall be humbled and he who humbles himself shall be exalted. The psalmist, as if mocking, says of the humbling of him who exalts himself: 'I have seen the wicked highly exalted, and lifted up like the Cedars of Lebanon and he passed away, and lo, he was not, etc.'[17] The apostle Peter indeed preached of the exaltation of those who humble themselves, following the footsteps of his mistress truth, saying: 'Be you humbled under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in the time of visitation.'[18] Moreover, the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary compressed both in the concision of a verse, when she says: 'He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble.'[19]

Divine grace willed that this exaltation of the humble, foretold in so many and such mighty prophecies, be seen by our own eyes at the tomb of His martyr who is to be glorified. Certainly we, who had measured the height of the tomb on the first day, had never suspected

what was to happen: at the end of the year we found out this truly unbelievable thing, yet proven by the sight of very many people. When we observed the sudden rising of the tomb we took note of the measure of its depth and proved that it protruded by more than a whole hand. And what I say, before God as witness, the people of Norwich knew and proclaimed, even if I had remained silent. And so that I cannot be said by my detractors to have disrupted the sequence of events by suddenly inserting the described translation, and what came to pass in the course of a whole year, as if nothing memorable had happened in the interim, I answer and add the cause of what I have done. Because, I say, in the description of the translation I recorded that wondrous rising of the tomb, in front of our eyes, by the will of divine dispensation, and I carried on, since I think it is not unfitting to describe the rising which continued to grow up to the year's end. And I acted in this way not in order to disrupt the order of the events, but so that I might bring together like with like.

[III] OF THE CLOTH THAT WAS REMOVED AND THE LIGHT THAT WAS FORBIDDEN

And so, in the year 1150 since the Lord's Incarnation, as set out above, the martyr's body, so worthy of worship, was translated into the chapterhouse on Wednesday after Palm Sunday [12 April] that was the ides of April[20] [13 April]. On the Sunday that followed, the one on which the Resurrection of the Lord was celebrated,[21] I, Thomas, by the advice of a number of colleagues, for the veneration of the venerable martyr on such a venerable day, placed a cloth over his tomb and placed at its head a large burning candle which I had prepared for that purpose. When Prior Elias heard about this, he took grave offence and ordered that what had been put there, as if with presumptuous boldness, should be contemptuously removed and never be put there again. At this the majority of the convent was much scandalized and upset; and it displeased them all the more for being a sign of ill will. Nevertheless, this happened – as they say – prompted more by the advice and envy of others than by the prior's own will. I think it is better to say that it was the prescient discretion of so wise a man, which wished to correct and contain the audacity of our own presumption.

[IV] OF A CERTAIN CLERK RELIEVED OF TOOTHACHE

On that very day, indeed, when that audacious person presumed to

disturb him with malice, divine mercy began to glorify its blessed martyr, and by a divine sign it revealed him to be worthy of much veneration, of which spiteful ill will had deemed him unworthy. For on Easter Day itself, a certain clerk of William the Sheriff,[22] Geoffrey by name, was suffering from a most grievous toothache, and he came – inspired and led by pious devotion – to the tomb of the blessed martyr. Prompted by faith, his teacher, he took a piece of mortar [from the tomb] and brushed his teeth with it. The pain was suddenly lessened, as if he had never had it, and he left the tomb [feeling] well.

[V] OF A MONK CURED OF A SIMILAR PAIN

Just at that time, Edmund, a junior monk of Norwich, suffered from so fierce a toothache that the swollen gum gave visible sign of his suffering. The clerk described above came to his mind and so he soon made his way to that same haven in order to beg for a cure for his pain. What, indeed, he sought in good faith he deserved to have follow without delay. When he touched the stone of the tomb with his aching face, the pain immediately subsided and he felt the whole swelling empty out.

[VI] OF THE VENERABLE VISION OF A CERTAIN RELIGIOUS MAN

In those days it happened that a certain man saw a fair and venerable vision. He was a monk of Norwich, pious of life and habits, a man in whom it is truly right to trust, and his name was Peter Peverell.[23] While he was formerly a knight in the world, for a long time he had served King Henry and was numbered among the inner circle of his household. This man, as he was resting at night, saw himself in a night vision, as if he were inside a church, watching and admiring a crowd of innumerable people dressed in white entering the church amidst a variety of harmonious sounds. Upon their entry such a light shone that the human eye could not bear it. Then he asked one of them, of aged and distinguished appearance, saying: ‘Sir, what is this gathering, so wonderful and dignified, entering with such glory into the church?’ And he answered: ‘This,’ he said, ‘is Our Lady, queen of heaven and the world, coming with this her family to visit her most beloved friend, who is at your place. She has already gone in with her maidens to have a private conversation with him.’

When he heard this, the monk was terribly afraid and, not daring to remain there any longer, he left the church. But when, as it seemed to him, he had entered the cloister and approached the chapterhouse, an

incomparable odour infused his nostrils as he approached it. As he was about to pass [the entrance to] the chapterhouse, he knelt in front of the image of the Lord, as is the custom, and looking in he saw that glorious Empress of Heaven and Earth seated at the head of the tomb on a golden throne that was splendidly decorated with royal emblems and crowned with gold and jewels shining in incomparable brightness. On her right and left there were two virgins of the greatest beauty, holding lit candles in their hands. In front of her, the blessed boy and martyr William knelt with a bowed head and on bended knees. For him the glorious Mother of the Lord was plaiting an admirable crown from the flowers brought to her by a third maiden, and when it was ready she placed it on his head.

While the monk's attention was focused on the glory of the blessed martyr and marvelled at it all greatly, the virgin, who – as I said – supplied the flowers, approached him. 'What amazes you?' she said. 'At what do you wonder?' And he replied, 'Because I do not know what is happening here and I would really like to know.' She said to him: 'This is the Queen of Heaven and Mother of the Lord, who has come to visit her beloved friend the martyr William, who has been assigned as patron of this church; she has crowned him and conferred upon him the power to cure at will. So go now and honour him from now on, because the days will come when you, too, will have great need of him.' And this happened, as will be revealed later.[24]

After saying this, that celestial vision disappeared; the monk woke up and began to reflect with care on what he had seen. And when morning came he recounted to the brethren what he had seen in his vision, and from that day on many began to venerate the tomb of the holy martyr greatly and to frequent it with prayers. And I have heard many of them say that they smelt there frequently the smell of the sweetest fragrance emanating from the tomb of that venerable and most holy martyr.

[VII] OF A CERTAIN WOMAN CURED OF A LONG-STANDING ILLNESS

Not much later, Claricia, wife of Geoffrey of March[25] and niece of the Geraldine brothers,[26] came to the most blessed martyr's tomb seeking a longed-for remedy for her illness. She had been suffering for years from pain in her kidneys and knees, and she could not over many years be cured by doctors,[27] although she had spent a great deal on them. And so, coming to that venerable tomb in the arms of those who led her there, but even more led by faith, she stood for a while

praying, and then, with her knees bent as far as possible, she pressed them bare onto the bare stone. At that touch, the aforementioned pain in her limbs began to recede, so that she could already feel a long-lost health pouring into each of them. And so it happened that she who had come so weak, carried in the arms of others, by the work of divine medicine returned healthy and strong, needing support from no one.

[VIII] OF ANOTHER FREED FROM THE FLUX OF BLOOD

A few days later, on the Feast of the Holy Trinity, that is the Octave of Pentecost [11 June 1150], Alan of Setchy came with his wife Muriel, they who were the uncle and aunt of Richard, then sub-prior of Norwich.[28] She had long suffered from the sickness of the flux of blood and, although she took many medicines for a long time, she could not find a cure for her illness. So, coming to the tomb of the martyr, she bent her knees, offered two candles, for herself and for her husband, and begged with tears for health. The pure prayer of the petitioner beat against the heavens and the grace of divine pity came down to earth with amazing speed. After completing her prayer and kissing the slab of the tomb with the greatest devotion, she suddenly felt the flux stop, though earlier it had flowed without even a moment's pause. Then she called for me, overjoyed with happiness, and, because she held me as a particularly intimate friend, revealed to me privately the illness and how she had been suddenly cured of it.

[IX] OF A BOY ON HIS DEATHBED CURED BY THE MERITS OF SAINT WILLIAM

In those days a little boy, son of Ralph, the nephew of Prior Elias, was mortally ill, and death had already reached its final hour. And so, advice was given to his father and mother that they make a candle in great haste, the length and breadth of the boy, and, having made it, dedicate it to Saint William for the health of their son, and then no doubt they would soon receive the boy whole. And so immediately, as was said, the candle was made and was carried in the father's hands to the tomb of the holy martyr to be given as a votive offering.[29] Upon his return the father was delighted to find his son, whom he had left just a while earlier at death's door, healthy.

[X] HOW A MONK RECOVERED THE ABILITY TO SLEEP, WHICH HE HAD LOST, BY THE MERITS OF SAINT WILLIAM

Around that time one of the older monks of Norwich, called Thomas, was for a long time suffering from an illness and lay in the infirmary

cell. After he had been unable to sleep for three days he began to suffer gravely, and above all at night when his eyes could not rest even for a little while. And so, much oppressed by his suffering, he turned to the intercession of the glorious martyr William, whom he loved with the greatest devotion, pouring out this short prayer: 'My Lord, Saint William, if indeed you are – as they say – of such great virtue and holiness in the presence of God, give me, your servant, the ability to rest and to recover the power of sleep, which I have lost.' After saying this he fell silent and, without any delay at all, his sight gradually dimmed,[30] he began to feel drowsy and presently to sleep. Refreshed thus by the sweetness of sleep and rest, when he woke he raised his head and, having called us to him, thanked God and Saint William by whose merits he earned recovery of the power of sleep, which he had lost.

[XI] THAT LADY MABEL OF BEC AND HER SONS FREQUENTLY EXPERIENCED THE POWER OF THE HOLY MARTYR

Around the same time, Lady Mabel of Bec[31] arrived in Norwich, eager to come to the tomb of that glorious blessed martyr. She had become aware of the fame of his great powers, prayed there sincerely and, urged by pious devotion, took away with her a small piece broken off from the tomb slab. She took great care to guard it with the greatest diligence, so that in the future it would frequently bring the benefit of faith to her and hers. Since, indeed, she hoped faithfully, her hope did not deserve to be dashed. And so, whenever she or her sons incurred the trouble of any ill health, immediately they ran for succour to the medicine which her faith had provided and on whose efficacy they relied. Calling on the aid of the holy martyr William they scraped the stone and dissolved it in holy water, then drank it, and soon they experienced relief and the speedy power of divine grace.[32]

[XII] OF THE VISION OF THE MONK RICHARD, AND HIS DEATH, AND HIS RECOVERY OF SIGHT

When by these and other exercises of power the pious martyr had begun to flourish, among these great works of piety it also happened that he became a little annoyed and angry towards one who failed to obey him. And this, as we conjecture, was especially the case because he observed an abuse of his patience when the cloth and the light were removed [from his tomb] and their restoration was forbidden; that is to say, in order that, this being done, he might both strike fear

into them and encourage their souls to put right the evil they had done. He wished to make manifest by clear signs that he was irritated and he took care to send a message to Elias, the prior of Norwich, through a certain monk, Richard of Lynn.[33] This Richard was seized in those days by fevers and was tormented more and more keenly every day. Therefore, moved by our advice and by that of others, he went to the often mentioned tomb of the blessed martyr, keeping vigil during a night of prayer, and begged of him the remedy of health.

While he camped there with his two servants, suddenly a black pig entered the chapterhouse; in reality – as it was believed by some – the devil in the shape of a pig.[34] It entered unexpectedly, grunting; the servants woke up and were – I dare say – terrified, and the pig ran straight towards the sleeping monk, leapt over him unexpectedly and terrified him exceedingly as he lay half-asleep. Seeing this, the servants immediately rose up, flocked together and just managed to expel it from the chapterhouse. A group of monks of the choir came running to expel it from the cloister, and after much running back and forth across the cloister, finally they were only just able to push it out.

And as can be conjectured from several circumstances, that ancient enemy of the human race always envies the success of saints and is always laying snares at their heels.[35] Perhaps through that actual pig, the filthiest animal, most fitting to him, he wanted to have sport with the monk or to terrify him and so to drive him away from his devout purpose. Meanwhile, the sick man who lay in the chapterhouse at the said tomb, and was half-asleep again as day broke, saw in a vision Saint William coming to him and saying: 'Why have you come, Richard, and what do you want?' And he said: 'Because I am sick, Lord, and wish to be cured.' The martyr said to him: 'You have brought nothing. You have offered nothing, brother. But if I cure you what gift would you give me?' The monk replied: 'What, Lord, shall I give? I who possess nothing that I can worthily give?' The martyr answered: 'Being born on the day called Candlemas I love candles, and, therefore, I surely want the candles you have.'[36] When he [the monk] said that he had no candles, he [William] added: 'On the contrary, brother, you have candles, which you have not acquired justly, and of those the biggest and most beautiful you have put aside secretly and have in hiding. I want to have them all, and especially the most beautiful ones, which you have put aside to give to the wife of your brother.' And the monk said: 'This simply cannot be done, Lord, that I should give you as a gift what I have prepared for her. But you surely will not refuse to accept the others, whatever their quality,

that I give willingly?' Then the martyr, moved by anger, rejoined: 'So then you love her more than you do me? You have not distributed them rightly, brother, when you assigned to that little woman the ones you value and to me those you do not value. Why, then, do you come to me to be cured, me whom you do not love from [the depth of] your heart? Therefore, know for sure that your desire will never survive against my ill will. I especially advise you to bring here in the morning both lots of candles I mentioned; but if you refuse, know for sure that I shall have the ones I want willy-nilly. If you are to enjoy our favour, then offer the candles I have requested and hand them over to Lord Thomas, my personal sacrist, for keeping. And when you have done so, tell him to keep them, and five others, which he has stored in his book cupboard[37] for my use, because soon the lighting, previously prohibited, may be restored to me. Furthermore, do not fear to tell Prior Elias that I advise him in good faith to quickly make good with appropriate honour the injury of the insult to which I was subjected, and restore to me the cloth and the lights that were removed. God wishes it, surely, and commands that it be done. And if the prior absolutely refuses, and on the contrary presumes impudently to make little of our command and go against divine dispensation, he will certainly have to make serious amends in the future. And as for you, since you have resisted my request so far, I give you warning with this announcement, that for the sin of your disobedience you will pay with such suffering the like of which you have never felt before. And if, indeed, having been corrected, you still do not satisfy my wish, be sure that you will suffer much more. Now then go, and if you have any sense let my words be lodged unshakeably in your mind.'

Having seen these things, Richard woke up, terrified by so dreadful a vision, and since it was already daybreak he got up, went to the infirmary and, after about an hour, having summoned the prior as well as a good many of us, he recounted all that had been said to him and enjoined upon him. The things he had been told to say to the prior, however, he took care to say to him alone. Having heard this, the prior was agitated and not a little fearful, and he set out to enquire diligently and find out the truth. And having met me to talk about the aforementioned five candles, he ordered that they should be brought, if, indeed, it was true that I had them. Now I forgot three candles that I had brought to light at the tomb of the holy martyr on Easter Day, but which I had put away tied up separately in a cupboard labelled with the martyr's name, since lighting them was prohibited; but I only remembered those two, which – as we said – Lady Muriel de Stechy

had offered on the Feast of the Holy Trinity, and I said I had only those and ran to bring them. When I opened the cupboard, the two, which had not yet escaped my memory, were immediately found. Having found them, I started to search carefully to see if perhaps the three, which I was said to have, might be found. When I found them – since, indeed, they were there – I recognized them to be the martyr's by the above-mentioned written label; having identified them, I joined them to the other two and so brought the prior the full five, happy and greatly amazed. Seeing them, the prior – considering in his mind the truth of the secrets thus revealed and consequently bearing in mind the threatened sentence – at one moment showed his approval and pretended with a smile to be happy, while at another his pale face showed him to be afraid.

And so, agitated in this manner both by the revelation of the secrets, as well as by the terrifying messenger, in part mollified and in part clinging to his original harsh decision, he relaxed a little the decision about the prohibited light, but he did not at all agree that the cloth could be restored. Not much later, as the hour of his fever arrived, Richard, whom I mentioned before, was overtaken by a coldness in his limbs and began to shiver throughout his whole body and felt himself tormented with such suffering as he had never experienced before, and he sensed that he was suffering in accordance with the words of the blessed martyr. And so, after suffering for quite a while, he was found lying as if he were dead. When he was sprinkled copiously with holy water by several people, at length his mouth began to open, and after about an hour his eyes opened weakly, life returned to his limbs and slowly he came back to himself. And we, who saw effectively the fulfilment of some of what had been promised, expected with an anxious mind the completion of the rest, too. And from that time it was the custom, by the prior's permission, to have a light at the tomb of the holy martyr every night, and sometimes by day, although it was not allowed; and it came to pass that candles and tapers burned there, brought by the pious devotion of those who offered them.

As before, I, Thomas, then the sacrist of the blessed martyr, observed that those five candles which we mentioned above were almost consumed in his honour, and I met the aforementioned Richard and asked him about the ones he was ordered to hand over to me. And he – I know not whether led by laziness or because he had fallen into neglect of the vision – constantly delayed hour by hour and never gave them to me. And it so happened at that time that I and Master

Richard de Ferrariis,[38] who later succeeded Prior Elias, had to go to Ely on some urgent business, and having completed our business we returned to Norwich on the fifth day [that is, four days later]. In the meantime, while the sick monk Richard rested at night, again the blessed martyr William appeared to him in a vision, with an angry face, saying: 'How is it, brother, that you have wanted to act in this way? Why have you not given Master Thomas the candles as I commanded you? I know – indeed – I know the perverse stubbornness of your mind. It shall not come to pass at all as you have planned, but very differently. For neither will the power to hand them over be afforded you, nor will your brother's wife be able to receive them from your hands, as you propose. She will come to Norwich on your account, but she will not find you at all. Know that my Thomas is now absent, but after the third day he will be back and will receive the candles I commanded from another. Now then, go away, and may you pay the punishment due for your crime of disobedience.' Then with these words he struck him hard on the forehead with the back of his hand, inflicting serious pain on it, and said: 'See, tomorrow Saturday comes and it will be a most important and doom-laden day for you. So confess and perform a penance appropriate for the sins you have committed, so that at least with it, purified by this transitory pain, you may deserve to obtain pardon and avoid eternal punishment.'

At this Richard came to, struck by terror, and he suddenly felt pain beginning from his forehead and pouring back into his head, and then from the head gradually leading to the other parts of the body. When the monks got up in the morning he too rose, and he entered the infirmary chapel, supporting his weak body with a stick, and when some of them came up to visit him, he told them with tears what he had seen and felt. Then, calling one of the brethren to him privately, with a penitent heart he recalled his earlier life before his mind's eye, and, in accordance with the warnings of the holy martyr, he confessed, recalling to mind from his memory the bad deeds he had done, and he showed the remorse of a penitent heart with profuse tears. And so, by that oral confession and the pure penance of the heart, we believe he obtained forgiveness from the Lord. Later, after a little time had passed, supporting himself with a stick, he made his way to the infirmary chamber, as the hour of death approached. His strength was declining due to the pain. He suddenly fell and showed with a death-like face that he was close to his final hour.

Why say more? The brother died and the others gathered around as he died; and they buried him the next day, performing the funerary

customs. And the following wonder also took place on that Saturday, when the bell was rung for the dead man, just as the martyr had foretold, his brother's wife also came to Norwich on his account. But since she did not find him alive, she went back home in sorrow, denied the fruit of her efforts. And the next day, the aforementioned Richard de Ferrariis and I returned home, and, finding out what had happened to the brother in the interim, we were greatly struck by fear. The candles – of which so much mention has been made above – were handed over to me when I arrived by the hands of Denis the Chamberlain.[39] Just as the martyr had foretold, so truly it was; for they were given to me not by him who had been commanded, but rather by another's hand. And so it happened that the glorious martyr of Christ from that day was visited with greater fear and reverence, and the reverence multiplied many times in the hearts of all, and the sentiment of pious devotion to him grew and increased.

[XIII] HOW WILLIAM, SACRIST OF NORWICH, WAS CURED OF HEADACHE, DEAFNESS AND POOR SIGHT[40]

At that time William,[41] sacrist of Norwich, was staying in the infirmary, detained by a great and long-lasting attack of bleeding piles. At the same time, quite frequently, a liquid came out of his male member and it issued much coagulated blood. And at that time, due to this condition of a corrupt bodily nature, he gradually declined so greatly into a wasting illness that the intensity of the pain rendered the right side of his head useless, as if his head had been halved; it disturbed the sight of one eye, which disrupted the normal course of hearing with irksome deafness, and his ear was full of ringing sounds. Therefore, on our advice, he ordered the preparation of a big wax candle of appropriate size for him, and from the first watch of the night [vigils] he came to the venerable tomb of the holy martyr, had the candle lit and offered it; and he spent the night there, ever watchful in prayer. He was praying there to the Lord that by the intercessory virtues of His glorious martyr his headache would recede and he would experience his sight and hearing restored to him. And since in his heart faith combined with hope, he deserved to receive without delay what he believed in and hoped for.

And so in the morning he sensed the weakening of his headache, while his eyes and ears felt the remedy of divine relief. And so, when he found himself to be cured in the head, he returned with delight from the curative tomb of the holy martyr to offer as many praises as

he could, and did not cease from announcing them. The diligent intelligence of the reader should pay attention more to the reason and order of the act than to the malevolent babbling of detractors. When, indeed, he hears that he [William the sacrist] suffered from many ailments and was cured not completely, but only in part, what else should he think, but that no event in such cases could come without a cause? Let him reflect, I say, first with what intention he was led to go to the tomb. And second, what he asked for. And third, why he deserved to be heard. By considering these together, he may perhaps resolve the whole problem. He [William the sacrist] had arrived sick; but by the spiritual rewards of prayers he acquired a celestial medicine for the body.

Next, notwithstanding the heavy pain in his lower parts that we have described, nothing else came to light, but that once the pain in his head was relieved, his weak sight and hearing improved. Without doubt he deserved to be heard in this matter on which he made a trustworthy request. And so it is possible to conclude that if he had requested the other likewise, that, too, he would likewise have obtained. We have often heard and read that many among the sick are healed in this way by the merits of saints, so that they are cured in one part and denied cure in another. Is it so strange if the holy martyr William, by the application of divine mercy, gave so much help to the sick brother in this matter for which he had been so strongly urged? And is it so strange if he offered health in part, while keeping the remaining part for another time? Moreover, when something is postponed to the future it is not unfitting for us to postpone recording it in that place where it comes about.

[XIV] OF A WOMAN CURED OF A LONG-STANDING DISEASE

At that time a certain Aldith, who lived in Norwich, the wife of Toke the chandler, was disabled by a certain serious and long-standing disease. Each of her limbs was taken over by such an intensity of pain that she knew not the least comfort, not even for an hour, nor could she take a step without the support of a stick or perform any kind of manual labour. When half a year had passed in such great illness, following the advice of friends, she handed herself over to a health-giving plan. She ordered that a large candle be made, and the moment she offered it to the blessed martyr William she sensed the intense suffering of that pain diminish. And so, prompted by such intimations of her cure, she immediately hastened to the now famous tomb of the

martyr with the candle, to offer thanks for the present favour and to seek more in the future. She offered, prayed and returned home, and soon recovered.

[XV] OF ANOTHER WHO WAS MIRACULOUSLY CURED BY A VISION

In those days there was in Norwich a certain poor woman who dwelt in the hospital called Brichtiue.[42] She was suffering from a long-standing debilitating illness and was able to do nothing for herself. She was swollen and ulcerated in her whole body as if she were afflicted by leprosy,[43] and appeared to those who saw her as a miserable and horrific spectacle. When she had been suffering from so great a disease for a year and more, the blessed martyr William came to her in a night vision and said: 'I have compassion for your suffering and feel sorry for you, woman, and I come to confer a saving remedy on your suffering.' Then he pressed that healing right hand of his from the head down, limb by limb, and the pain seemed suddenly to diminish, as if he had thrown the coldest water upon the hottest of pots. The speediest of cures followed the passing of the hand, and at the touch of the healing fingers the illness departed in flight. The martyr turned to her and said: 'See, you are now made healthy. Give thanks to God and to me, too, by whose hand divine grace has cured you, and do not delay to offer me also a candle acquired by your own labour.'

When the woman woke up she immediately felt the pain ease and she was delighted that what she had seen in a vision while asleep was no different when she was awake. And so she got up healthy, thanked God and her liberator; then she earned the price of a candle by the work of her hands, and came with it to the tomb of the martyr, offered it and went away with grateful thanks.

[XVI] OF A MUTE FROM BIRTH, CURED

Again in Norwich, there was a certain Colobern, who led an honourable though poor life with his wife called Ansfrida. They had a son about seven years old, but he was mute from birth; when on a given night they were both asleep, in the auspicious hour of the night, at the very same moment they were prompted in a vision by a person with a venerable face to take their son on the morrow to the tomb of the holy martyr, where they would rejoice in his cure. And so in the morning, comparing dream with dream, they rushed to the said tomb with their son, as they had been told to do in their sleep. After they

had together continued in prayer there for a long time, and finally offered the candle, carried in the boy's hand, the boy kissed the tomb and turned to his father and mother, suddenly breaking into speech in his mother tongue, asking that they return home. Upon hearing this, father and mother could not contain their tears of happiness. We, who were also present, seeing such things, cried, pierced by compassion. And when they had made known to us both the vision and the outcome, they returned home full of joy with a son no longer mute, and we joined them in praise of the Lord, who does great things in His martyr William.

[XVII] OF A BOY CURED OF DYSENTERY

As the fame of such mighty miracles spread more and more, as if sprouting new shoots, and rang in the ears of people all around, many began to flock together to that beneficial tomb from all parts, and to beg for divine benefits there with vows and prayers. Amongst them was one Robert Palmer of Norwich, who was led there by faith, bringing with him his son who had been suffering for a year from the illness of dysentery. As soon as he had been given to drink some dust from the mortar of that saint's tomb, dissolved in holy water, immediately he felt the pain subside and strength quickly pour into his limbs, which had been gradually weakened. And his father later told us that the flux of dysentery had ceased in his son on the very day on which he had imbibed the remedy of health in the sacred drink.

[XVIII] OF A CERTAIN WOMAN WHO WAS CURED OF A LONG-STANDING ILLNESS

There was also in the royal village called Ormesby[44] a certain Walter Flotberd, whose wife suffered from a long-standing illness. For a year she had been afflicted by a terrible pain of the heart and other members, and she was brought to such an extreme state of decline that she was no more than skin and bones. Having been prompted by the same holy martyr William in a vision, she arranged to be transported to Norwich by boat. When she arrived there she was carried in the arms of her relatives to the tomb of the oft-mentioned holy martyr. After praying and offering a candle she fell asleep there and immediately felt better. Afterwards, led by her relatives, she returned to the guest house, and after three days came again and offered a candle made to the measure of the tomb, and at that point in time she felt the full cure of her long-standing illness. And it so

happened that she, who had come supported by the help of another, went away walking alone, confident in her strength, and returned home; from that day on, never again did she feel any suffering from that illness.

[XIX] OF SAILORS FREED AT SEA

Divine grace by the merits of the blessed martyr also helped some sailors of Yarmouth,[45] who were endangered by a storm at sea. When they were at sea a powerful tempest was gathering strength and terrible waves – much greater than usual – threatened them with death, and, already at death's door, they prayed as one for divine mercy and implored the pious intercessions of the holy boy and martyr William. Lo! – a wonder! For as they themselves later told us, immediately, as they were calling the name of the holy martyr and offering him their vows, the whole tempest fell silent. And as they contemplated the tranquillity restored to them so suddenly by the merits of Saint William, they glorified the Lord, glorious in His saints, and forthwith arrived at the shore by a speedy route, whole and unharmed.

[XX] OF A POOR WOMAN'S PIG WHO WAS CURED

Divine goodness comes through the merits of Saint William, not only for the relief of human ailments, as has been shown above, but also for those of brute animals. And just as He has made all things, so it is no wonder that He governs and arranges everything. And He does not withdraw the hand of His goodness from any creature, even the smallest or the most insignificant, that hand which embraces all within the bosom of His majesty. And so, a certain poor woman of Norwich used to rear pigs, and when they were grown she sold them to buy what was necessary for her livelihood. It so happened that they fell ill and, after one had already died, imminent death threatened her other pig. So the woman discerned in this state of affairs that she would be deprived of those things she hoped for and which she needed for her support. Almost deprived of any hope of recovery, she lamented greatly and finally turned for succour to the help of the blessed martyr. Coming to his tomb, she prayed with tears, offered a candle and, when she returned from there, she exulted in finding the pig she had so sadly left at death's door cured and unharmed.

[XXI] OF SICK OXEN RETURNED TO HEALTH

At that time it happened that the oxen of Denis,[46] chamberlain of the monks of Norwich, were dying from a similar scourge. Upset by this trouble, he ordered that the sick oxen be surrounded by a thread – lengthwise and breadthwise – and that a candle be made for the holy martyr William the length of the thread. When it was made, he took it to his tomb and offered it, and from that moment he discovered that the scourge in the oxen had stopped. In a similar manner, a certain knight, Goscelin le Gros,[47] when he noticed that his oxen were languishing in the plague of murrain and that quite a few had already died, he hurried to help the remaining ones who were still alive. Without delay he surrounded the oxen with a thread and ordered a candle to be made in the name of Saint William, and when it was ready he took it to his tomb. Once more, when he arrived home and found that the oxen had already recovered, henceforth he told everyone about the power of the holy martyr William, which he himself had clearly experienced in the oxen.

[XXII] OF A CERTAIN IDA, MIRACULOUSLY CURED

At the same time, Ida, the wife of Eustace the Moneyer[48] of Norwich, had been afflicted for three years already by gout[49] in her knees. Next, spreading and raging through her limbs, the disease finally mounted to her right shoulder and then also took over the arm. As her suffering increased, she broke out in terrible cries and was thought to have lost her mind, and so was brought almost to death's door. A priest was called, and after confession – for fear of death – she was fortified with the sacrament of the Lord's body. And when morning came she was reminded of the holy martyr William, and as best she could had herself taken to his tomb. When she arrived there she lay down by it and immediately – crying out in terrible cries, out of excessive suffering – she tumbled about the floor of the chapterhouse. Then, after a while, tired out, she rested and in a loud voice called out frequently the name of Saint William, begging for the cure of health. Then she was given a candle and she offered it, and after kissing the tomb, at the moment when she touched the stone, she appeared in the eyes of those present to be cured. And after a while, she who had only just been able to arrive there carried by others, was amazed and exultant to be able now to return home by her own [strength].

[XXIII] OF A CERTAIN MEMORABLE VISION

There was in Norwich a man called Stannard Wrancberd, whose

daughter Ida merited seeing a venerable and memorable vision at night. She saw Saint William at the head of his tomb, standing between three virgins and holding a burning candle. The virgins stood around him on three sides, also holding burning candles. And as she pondered the sight, one of the virgins said to her: 'Pray, O maiden, to the holy martyr William, whom you see, who was crowned by venerable martyrdom in contempt of Christ's death, that he intercede for you with God, who holds him dear. You should know this: that he has been given by God to the people of Norwich as a unique and special patron; and I am the virgin Katherine,[50] who announces this to you.' At that point the girl woke up and immediately told her father and mother of the vision, of which the father himself took care to inform us on the morrow. But what was even more amazing, before that hour the father, mother and maiden – as they themselves said – did not even know the proper name of Saint William!

[XXIV] OF A CERTAIN GOLDEBURGA WHO WAS CURED

In those days a certain woman called Goldeburga, who had been ill for many days, trusted in the power of the martyr and – her limbs hardly supporting her – came to his tomb with a candle, and spending some time in prayer with tears, begged for a remedy for her persistent illness. There, as the grace of merciful God operated through the merits of the blessed martyr, she sensed the celestial cure spreading slowly through her limbs, and so within a few days, recovering her strength, she obtained full health.

[XXV] OF A GIRL CURED OF FEVERS

Nor was the power of the holy martyr hidden from Bartholomew of Creake,[51] very famous for both chivalry and nobility. When it happened that his little girl was held in the burning heat of fever, the mother, sorrowing over her sick daughter, went to the trouble of making a candle in the name of Saint William with her own hands, and vowed to offer it for her daughter's health. Lo! – a wondrous thing and a timely showing of divine power! For just as soon as she started making the candle, at the first movement of her fingers, that feverish heat suddenly ceased, just as a pot commonly goes off the boil when cold water is thrown into it. And so the mother had the candle offered for her daughter, who never again felt any illness of fever.

[XXVI] OF A DROPSY SUFFERER WHO WAS CURED

And a certain dropsy sufferer from Tudenham[52] came to the tomb of Saint William to earn a cure for his illness. When standing there, praying for a while, he offered a candle and the pain in his stomach then already eased, and he went away with much lighter a step than when he had come. Afterwards, indeed, when we carefully enquired into the affair, we learned from the account of his neighbours that he had been cured.

[XXVII] OF A WEAK BOY WHO WAS CURED

With so great a multitude of sick people coming there, among the rest was a certain Roger of the village of Tudenham, mentioned above, with his wife Godiva. They carried their ten-year-old son, who was weak in his whole body, because he could in no way take even one step on his own, for he had been unable for many days to move or turn. And so, being almost dead, his parents carried him with many laments and tears and with candles, and put him down on the tomb near the martyr's head, within our view. After a short period of prayer he was lifted by his parents and testified that he already felt better. Thus, he who before was unable to turn himself in any direction, nor take a step on the ground without another's help, nor stand up to full measure, now turned by himself, giving thanks to God and the holy martyr. He returned home with his parents, who were crying for joy, and in a short while he recovered fully.

[XXVIII] OF A CERTAIN HILDEBRAND WHO WAS CURED

In those very days, Hildebrand, well known in Norwich, and a relative of the monk Paul of Norwich, began to feel sick and in a short time became bedridden, because of the growing illness. After having languished in his sickbed for quite a few days, one day the illness raged through his joints so fiercely that he seemed to be at death's door. Counsel was taken and the friends who attended him advised that a candle be made straight away, and be taken to the tomb of the holy martyr for the health of the sick man. When this was done without delay, at that moment the sick man began to feel better, and, after a while, he earned recovery to full health. In particular, as we have learned from the account of those who were present when he was ill and when he got better, the very instant when the force of his suffering was alleviated was the moment when it happened that the candle was offered to the holy martyr.

[XXIX] OF THE CLERK AND THE PALFREY OF THE SACRIST OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY, WHO WERE CURED

About that time the sacrist of Holy Trinity, Canterbury, came from Kent to Norfolk on some family business and by chance visited Norwich. And it happened that while he was staying there his palfrey fell ill, and the clerk who was his companion was taken very ill on the night before the day he planned for departure. And so, when the monk got up to leave in the morning he was shocked to find his horse and clerk both sick, and – not surprisingly – was very much distressed by this. And so, stirred by such urgent need, he hastened with a devout spirit to the intercession of the holy martyr William; and what he piously and devoutly prayed for he soon earned by the generosity of divine grace. And so it happened that with his companion and palfrey restored to health, he was able – quite beyond hope – to set out on his journey immediately, as if he had suffered no previous impediment.

[XXX] OF A CERTAIN SICK EMMA WHO WAS CURED

About the same time, a certain Emma of Wighton[53] was assailed by a grave illness. Having heard of the wondrous miracles of the martyr William, which spread by rumour, and encouraged by the successes of others, already holding out hope of a cure and in search of help, she went to the said tomb. When she got there she prayed with the greatest devotion in her supplications, offered a candle and returned with the hope of cure. Immediately upon her return she found that she was truly cured, and she knew that divine grace had worked in this way through the merits of Saint William.

[XXXI] HOW MANY WERE CURED BY DRINKING SCRAPINGS FROM THE TOMB

Since in this manner the fame of the holy martyr was spread far and wide, and it became manifest to all in what mighty merit and virtue was his standing with God, no small crowd of sick people began to frequent the glorious Saint William's tomb. More and more came, and as some left others came after them, because the frequent successes of the earlier ones spurred those who followed to good hope. Indeed, among the great multitude of visitors we know that many were cured, some with fevers, others suffering from the sickness of dysentery or afflicted with other illnesses, after drinking scrapings from the tombstone mixed with holy water, quite apart from those whose cure we have mentioned in the preceding accounts.

[XXXII] OF A CERTAIN MAN WHO WAS CURED OF A SWELLING OF THE THROAT

Although the glorious martyr was becoming famous – as so many miracles took place around his tomb – we have not been able to take note of all of them, both because many have escaped our notice and because for quite a few we have been unable to track down the full certainty of truth. Meanwhile, it has pleased us to insert into this book those we know for sure by sight or hearing, and we know that telling them will not be displeasing to people of devout hearts. Thus, in Norwich, a certain boy, the son of Aluric, of the monks' tailor's workshop, fell ill with a grave and horrible swelling of the throat and jaws, so that he offered those who saw him a miserable sight. And since the nature of the illness excluded any hope of future cure, he came to the tomb of the glorious martyr led by his mother. When we saw him we were so deeply moved by so bitter an illness that we gave him to drink the scrapings off the tomb slab mingled with holy water. As the sacred drink, little by little, went down into his bowels, the power of divine grace soon followed. And so, immediately upon ingesting the drink, the sick boy felt the lessening of his pain and in a short while he was cured of the tumour and retained no mark of the swelling anywhere on his body.

And so now, having laid out some little groups of miracles, we cease dictation for a time, until the horse, tired by a journey, revives its strength by a short period of rest and can set out with renewed force on the labour of his journey on the morrow, with greater lightness of step.

Here ends the third book.

Book Four

Here begin the chapters of the fourth book. [i] On the hardening [of the heart] of Prior Elias and his death. [ii] Of the son of a certain Gurwann, who was cured, and of a blind man who gained his sight. [iii] Of Ralph the Moneyer[1] of Norwich, cured of an illness, and of the servant of the moneyers who went mad and was cured. [iv] Of Agnes, wife of Reginald the Cowherd, freed of the flux of blood. [v] Of a certain Botilda freed of a most severe pain in her feet. [vi] Of the daughter of the smith of Postwick, who came sick and returned healthy. [vii] How the holy martyr warned us by a vision that his tomb should be tended and kept very clean. [viii] Of the miracle by which he recovered the cloth that had been removed. [ix] On the revelation of the holy teeth and the cure of William the sacrist; and of his death following the breaking of a vow. [x] How the martyr helped those endangered at sea, and cured a mother and son.[2] [xi] Of a certain woman cured of a long-standing disease, and of another who recovered her lost sight, [xii] Of a priest cured with his family, and of the wife of Richard of Bedingham, and [xiii] Of the little girl who was insane, and many others, cured by the merits of the holy martyr.

Here begins the fourth book.

[I] ON THE HARDENING [OF THE HEART] OF PRIOR ELIAS AND HIS DEATH

As the days multiplied, so did the miracles, and as the gift of his wonderful works increased, the name of the illustrious martyr William also spread far and wide. For that reason we cannot but wonder that the heart of a most prudent man, that is of Prior Elias, was so hardened that in no way was it possible to compel him to reverse with appropriate honour the offence – that we pointed out above – of the cloth so vilely removed from holy William's tomb. And we can no longer pass over in silence both that he was frequently admonished in a vision and that he was warned very often by many visions of others to return that cloth, but these did not soften his hardness of heart so that the honour due to the holy martyr be restored. I would not be surprised if some entertain the opinion and say in their hearts that the martyr William quite rightly punished by the vengeance of his anger the injury done to him by the hard-hearted prior. For so it is said by many, both that the martyr had warned him on this matter and that his [Elias's] death was a consequence of it. But whoever asserts this

and that about him, or whatever sort of person inclined the divine case to be disposed towards it, this, indeed, we hold for certain: that an untimely end shortened the days of his old age. Lo! – what a praiseworthy man, whose sobriety of life and modesty of habits were a mirror of all religion – who, indeed, endowed with both divine and liberal learning, illuminated the church of Norwich with such very wise and prudent foresight. Lo! – such a man, whose life was a much needed support for our own and whose untimely death incurs us a mournful loss, ought to be lamented with much sorrow. He died on 22 October [1150] and the venerable merits of his venerable life have made his death precious in the sight of the Lord[3] and have left us in no doubt of his salvation.

[II] OF THE SON OF A CERTAIN GURWANN, WHO WAS CURED, AND OF A BLIND MAN WHO GAINED HIS SIGHT

At almost the same time a certain woman of London was three times told by the blessed William in a vision what task he wanted her to carry out, until she finally took the trouble to come to Norwich, as she had been ordered. She asked for the tanner Gurwann, found him and, having found him, said: ‘Before this day I knew nothing of Norwich. I have come from London to Norwich, sent to you, Gurwann, and your wife, as a messenger. William the glorious martyr of God has sent me to you in this way, because just as you have lost five sons taken away by death and you are, of course, greatly sorrowed by such a tribulation, he, too, whose heart is full of compassion, feels very great pity for you. And so that you may have joy in your sixth son, who has only just survived and now has been ill for eighteen weeks, that most blessed martyr invites you to his tomb and admonishes you to bring a candle for the health of the boy and to offer it to him. Besides, he orders that every year as long as the boy lives, on the day of the Nativity of St Mary [8 September], he [Gurwann] should pay a tribute for the child’s head.’

Gurwann and his wife were delighted by this messenger and hurried directly to fulfil the command and exulted at the speedy recovery of their son. But one should not pass over in silence what I learned from Gurwann himself, that during days of great hunger and mortality among other poor people, he had in his house a certain blind man. He [the blind man] was warned in a vision by the blessed William – at a time when his martyrdom was still recent – that he should have three Masses of the Holy Spirit sung and that during the third he would

without doubt be cured. And when Gurwann found out what the blind man was saying, he called a priest and had him sing the three Masses; during them the blind man offered three pennies to the honour of the Holy Trinity[4] and – wonderful to say – he was cured just as had been promised to him in the vision.

[III] OF RALPH THE MONEYER OF NORWICH, WHOSE ILLNESS WAS CURED, AND HIS SERVANT WHO WAS INSANE AND WAS CURED

About that time Ralph the Moneyer of Norwich suffered from a very serious illness. Inspired by the examples of many, he made a vow to the blessed William, paid and was immediately cured. When he had fully recovered his health the glorious martyr of God appeared to him in a vision and said: 'I am the boy William who has cured you by God's will. Thank me and live devoutly. And I command you this: that you go to Thomas the monk, my guardian and sacrist, and tell him that he should be comforted and not feel deserted, that he should remain active and diligent in my service, because I hold dear the commitment which his devotion shows me.' The instructions given in the vision were recounted to me by that Ralph, and I, Thomas, have striven to observe them with the greatest care. It also happened about that time that while the moneyers of Norwich were at their work, suddenly one of their servants was seized by the demon in front of his eyes, and he behaved so badly that he soon had to be restrained with strong chains. Because of this, the others, who were in sound mind, uttered prayers and vows to the holy martyr for the health of their colleague, and, without delay, upon their prayer, the young man was freed.

[IV] OF AGNES, THE WIFE OF REGINALD THE COWHERD, FREED FROM THE FLUX OF BLOOD

On a certain day Agnes, the wife of Reginald called the Cowherd, of Norwich, came to the tomb of Saint William to beg for a remedy for her very severe and long-standing illness. She had been suffering for five years from menstrual flux and had spent no small amount of money on doctors, who did her little or no good.[5] So she came and stood in prayer for a long while with great devotion and bitterness of heart, and she earned effective and immediate help, as she had requested. For soon after offering a candle on bent knees, she pressed her lips to the tomb and at that moment she found that by some secret power of God the trouble of flux ceased; and returning from there she

made it known that she had felt God's power manifested, thanks to the merits of Saint William.

[V] OF A CERTAIN BOTILDA, LANGUISHING AND THEN CURED

And a certain Botilda of Norwich, wife of Toche the Baker, also fell ill, and for a long time was seized by such a pain in her feet that she could not take a single step on the ground. And so, since she could not go out of her house and make her way – for the sake of prayer – to the tomb of the holy martyr, her husband hurried there on her behalf. And so he arrived and spent a long time in prayer and begged in devout supplications for the health of his wife; and after offering a candle he returned home, not doubting he had been heard. When he got home he found his wife healthy and sound and discovered that she had been restored to health at the very hour at which he had placed the candle upon the tomb of the holy martyr.

[VI] OF THE DAUGHTER OF THE SMITH OF POSTWICK,[6] WHO WAS ILL AND WAS CURED

There was in the village called Postwick a smith whose daughter was sick, suffering for many days from a very grave illness. She heard of the fame told by many and of the great powers of the health-giving martyr, and, touched by the impulse of faith, she hurried as fast as she could to the sacred tomb of the holy martyr. When she arrived there, holding a candle in her right hand, she prayed with devotion of the whole mind and begged for a cure to her illness with tearful prayers. Having said her prayer, she offered a candle on bent knees, and at the moment she pressed her kisses to the tombstone she found she had been restored suddenly to full health.

[VII] HOW THE SAINT WARNED IN A VISION THAT HIS TOMB BE TENDED AND KEPT VERY CLEAN AND PROTECTED

In those days[7] the glorious boy and martyr William appeared to a certain good and truly trustworthy man, and said: 'Be my messenger and go to my tomb next Sunday, and tell those who are there that they should show me greater reverence than usual. For many people are not ashamed to touch the stone of my tomb or its cloth with muddy feet and even to stain it; and the pavement around me is dirty with the disgusting spittle of many. So take care to command my Thomas that he keep my tomb more carefully and that he tell those coming to it with how much reverent propriety they should approach

me.' When the man spoke this to me I strove to observe his words with the greatest diligence, and henceforward remained even more devout in his [William's] service.

[VIII] OF THE MIRACLE BY WHICH HE RECOVERED THE CLOTH THAT HAD BEEN REMOVED

It is worth the effort to make known to the devotion of believers the source from which it may always be increased. For while the little flame of our devotion often learns by listening to the pious deeds of the saints again and again, it flares up as a result, as if fanned by a breath of piety, and burns more strongly with love. And so, in those days it happened that William,[8] then sheriff of Norwich, moved by very great anger, was acting severely against a certain Edward and Robert, who were brothers. Inspired by that anger, while he was preparing to arrest them, he failed to do so because they had found safety in flight, but he violently seized those of their goods that he found. At that time Robert was staying in the house of Richard, Dean of Bedingham,[9] and out of fear he spent the nights in the church of St Andrew.[10] And while he was resting there one night, having given his limbs to sleep, the pious boy and martyr William appeared to him in a vision and said: 'I take pity on you, Robert, because you have both suffered abuse through the great loss of goods, and are being forced in fear to live as an exile in another's house. So have two wax candles made in my name and do not delay to have them sent across to me by the hand of the priest Godwin, whose surname is Sturt; in return for this I promise you that before Christmas you and your lord will be reconciled. And pray to the monks of Norwich that they intercede for you. And be sure to send a token on my behalf, that they strive for the restoration of the cloth that was previously taken away from me, and which has frequently been requested, but has never been returned to me. Indeed, if I am ignored in this matter they will know for sure, because one of them will soon pay dearly. And also my shoe should be put not in the place they had chosen, but – because it is not sufficiently fitting – elsewhere for the time being.'[11]

After seeing this, when Robert woke up in the morning he was elated with great joy and related the business to his host, the dean; he had wax candles made and, once ready, he sent them; and he added for the monks a word about the order and the warning; and after a few days had passed he received the fulfilment of the promise, according to the word of the holy martyr. Prior Richard,[12] who had

immediately succeeded Prior Elias, moved by that menacing message, immediately ran to the church for the cloth, picked it up and carried it on his own shoulders and placed it on the aforementioned tomb of the holy martyr. And so he corrected with the obedience of pious devotion what others had imprudently done. I wonder very much about what was said of the shoe, since up to that time no one truly knew either who then had it or where it ought to be placed. I, Thomas, then absent, had the shoe in my private care, unknown to all others. And while I was on my way back to Norwich I received a casket[13] from Lady Mabel of Bec for that purpose, and I had intended to put secretly in it that very shoe and some other relics of that martyr. And when I came home I was truly amazed to learn of the commands made about the shoe; I laid those other relics I mentioned inside the casket and put back that shoe where it had been before.

[IX] ON THE REVELATION OF THE HOLY TEETH AND THE CURE OF WILLIAM THE SACRIST; AND OF HIS DEATH FOLLOWING THE BREAKING OF A VOW

At that time, William,[14] sacrist of the church of Norwich, whom we have already mentioned above in this book, happened to be suffering from a long-standing complaint that was growing worse; and as the suffering of the illness grew more serious, so did the frightful pain which he suffered around his lower parts, and more than usual. The pious martyr William, feeling for his pain, appeared in a night vision first to one Osbert, called of Montpellier, and in a second to another, whose name escapes my memory, and said: ‘Go and tell William the sacrist – whose pain I truly feel – on my behalf, that he should speak to Thomas my sacrist about his health. And if Thomas rinses my teeth – which he has so far secreted away – in holy water, and gives it him to drink, within just a few days he will without doubt recover a full remedy of health. But first I want him [William the sacrist] to vow to me not to take any other medicine save mine, which he is about to receive.[15] And if he breaks the vow out of carelessness or negligence, immediately he should look into himself, because I have reckoned that he will not survive the fourth day after.’

And so, when the commands of the night vision were brought to the notice of the sacrist by the same men, and after he had called me immediately, he told me those things that had been revealed and announced in the vision, and added: ‘Lo! Brother, my health is in your hands. So hurry up! Do not waste time! Do not spoil my hope by the penalty of delay!’ I heard this and I was much amazed and not a little

afraid. Without doubt I was afraid that if it became known that I had the teeth in my possession – which so far was unknown to all – I might perhaps lose them. Therefore, first I began on their account to deny, because I did not want to lose them. But when I had long denied, and the sick man and those who attended him had insisted vehemently and persistently, I finally confessed and agreed to show them what I had first denied.

Why say more? I brought the teeth, washed them in holy water and offered it to the sick man. And as he held the goblet he took the vow he was commanded to do, drank what was in the goblet and from day to day gradually got better. While he was convalescing, it happened that I went away and stayed elsewhere for a while. Meanwhile, the sacrist became very badly constipated, since his stomach did not answer the call of nature, and he suffered terrible pains of the stomach. And when, as it seemed to him, I had been away too long and the stomach ache grew worse and worse, it was often suggested to him that he seek advice from doctors and that he try out a medical cure. But he was afraid because of the vow by which he was bound and did not at all want to submit to their advice, but rather delay it all until my return. But when I had been very long in returning and the strength of the pains became far too great, he agreed, alas, to the persuasive doctors and turned to the refuge of false medicine.

After this I returned home on the following day, and when I found out what had happened I was deeply grieved and reproached him for breaking his vow. He excused himself for the crime of transgression both by my absence and by his suffering, and I retorted at once, now shouting at him, now giving calm advice: ‘Had you forgotten, my dear friend, that you were bound by a vow? Have the terrible threats of what would happen if you break the vow escaped your memory? You must look to yourself, because I fear greatly for you. Everybody knows that tomorrow will be the third day since you received the medicine, and I fear the outcome, that when the fourth day arrives – we may lose you on it.’ And while I continued with such admonitions, he seemed to me to make little of the warnings, being neither very frightened nor fully at ease.

What more? Sunset ended the third day and he rose from dinner and lay down in bed as if to settle himself to rest. But that rest was not of sleep, alas, but of death. When we wanted to wake him, we found him already dead. From this the diligent reader will consider with what diligence of care the commands of saints should be observed; and the more powerful and distinguished they are known to be, the

more fully should we take heed not to offend them. If, indeed, it happens that their command is neglected by carelessness, only rarely does such a crime of neglect go unpunished. For it is patently clear that he who commands is enraged when his instruction is most disregarded by those who should have heeded it most. And we instruct by many examples that he who has vowed and not observed his vow has deserved such punishment.

[X] HOW THE MARTYR HELPED THOSE ENDANGERED AT SEA, AND CURED A MOTHER AND SON THROUGH THE FINDING OF A SPRING

And I consider that one should not remain silent about something that a certain Botilda – whom in the second book we have already shown to have been freed miraculously from the distress of childbirth by a branch of fern, thanks to the merits of the blessed martyr[16] – told us: that is to say, what great wonders the blessed martyr William has deigned to work, both on land and at sea. While she was making her way back from the shrines of Saint James and Saint Gilles,[17] and in order to reach England was crossing the Norman Sea[18] in a ship with fellow pilgrims, it happened that she fell asleep on the ship when they had already reached the midst of the sea, and Saint William seemed to be with her, saying: 'Behold, in a short while a most serious tempest is about to arrive, and unless I had already interceded for you, the ship and all on it would already be in danger.

'And so, when the hour of need arrives, call upon me as advocate and intercessor with Christ on your behalf, and without doubt a great calm will follow with the sun shining, as if no tempest had ever gone before. And then around evening, by a good course you will reach the shore of England with all the more joy for having seen yourselves snatched from danger. And you, Botilda, when you reach Norwich, you will encounter your son – whom you have placed from his birth under my patronage – sick, and you will hasten to my hermitage in Thorpe Wood. As you and he approach the tree where once I was thrown by the Jews, where I lay for a while under the sky, dig around its roots a little and when you find water there, drink it. Having drunk it, you will be freed from the ailment you suffer, and so will your son from his. From then on strive to let all know that a cure will surely come to all those who faithfully drink of that water. Now then, get up at once, because the time of the tempest is near, and do not forget any of the commands.'

The woman woke up in great fear, saw the darkness of the night

immediately covering the whole black sea, and the sky and the light of day cut off from the eyes of all. As everyone there was already confronting death, the stricken ship was exposed to imminent shipwreck: now lifted by the waves and raised almost to the skies, now sinking as if cast into an abyss. All were in despair: the shouting and wailing were pitiful, and those of great wisdom prayed for help to divine mercy. And the said woman saw that all was in crisis, so she ran into the midst and with a clear voice exclaimed: 'Why such despair? Call together on God and Saint William the martyr of Norwich with a devout heart and I promise you a speedy delivery!' Everyone was transfixed by this voice, and the hearts of all bowed to the woman's command with an amazing unanimity. And when they all cried out in this fashion, suddenly the sun smiled, shining brightly, and without delay calm was restored, soon bringing peace to the sea as fully as if no storm had gone before. After a short period of time, the ship reached the coast of England on a prosperous course and all joyfully disembarked, each one of them going on his or her own way.

When that woman reached Norwich, she found that her son was ill, just as had been foretold. She took him with her and, with a priest as her witness, rushed to the wood, dug under that tree and soon found water gushing out. Once they tasted it, immediately the mother and son both felt better, and she found the prophecies of her vision to be most true in every part. Thereafter, we also know that many people received the remedy they hoped for by tasting that water. We can wonder greatly about this: that in a dry and sandy place a little spring of water appeared. For had it not been for the will of divine omnipotence, no water course at all would have come forth in such a place. For that dry place was so full of sand that if you poured a whole jug of water there, after a short period of time you would find not the least sign of it. But is it a wonder that He who was once able to produce from the hardest rock a flow of water for those who were thirsty[19] can – if He wishes – open a little spring in the sand for those who are sick? When it comes to divine omnipotence nothing is amazing, nothing is impossible, yet we humans are habitually amazed when we see something that is new or uncommon take place.

[XI] OF A CERTAIN WOMAN CURED OF A LONG-STANDING ILLNESS, AND OF ANOTHER WHO RECOVERED HER LOST SIGHT

And when among the achievement of so many wonderful miracles, paeans of praise spread abroad in all directions, many people gathered

every single day at the tomb of the blessed martyr William. Some came in order to receive the grace of health and others for prayer or devotion. Among them was a woman of Norwich, by the name of Ada, who had been suffering from illness for a year, and she was led, supported by the arms of her husband Siwate on one side, and by another on the other. And it happened after the prayer that followed her offering that she who had come sad and dependent on the help of others returned in joy, confident in her own powers, already cured by celestial medicine.

And Ravenilda, wife of William of Hastedun,[20] who had gradually lost the sight of her eyes, which had long been weakening, led by another, came to the tomb of Saint William and rejoiced in receiving full sight. And so it happened that she who came there blind, returned from there happy, after receiving light.

[XII] OF A CERTAIN PRIEST AND HIS FAMILY, AND A CERTAIN WOMAN WHO WAS CURED

At that time Walter, priest of Tivetshall,[21] and many of his family who were suffering from a grave illness, as soon as they made vows and asked for help of Saint William – as we have heard from that priest's account – were restored to perfect health. But also the wife of Richard of Bedingham, of whom we have made mention above,[22] was suffering from a grave illness of her stomach and kidneys, and earned a cure by the antidote of celestial medicine through the merits of the blessed William.

[XIII] OF AN INSANE GIRL CURED, AND MANY OTHERS

We also saw in those days a little girl, the daughter of Eustace the Moneyer,[23] brought in a state of insanity to the tomb of the holy martyr, and after the space of an hour returning healthy. And others besides, who had illnesses and diseases, we have seen come to him; and we know from their subsequent accounts that they had received cures. I have not inserted their names and the whole list of events into this book, in order to avoid tedium, because too much prolixity most often vexes the good will of readers.

Here ends the fourth book.

Book Five

The chapters of book five begin. [i] Of his translation from the chapterhouse into the church. [ii] That on the night after the translation the sacrist was to hear wonderful things. [iii] Of a youth who vomited live serpents. [iv] Of some who were cured of fevers by the merits of Saint William. [v] How he corrected the priest Godwin in jest, and called him back from unjust profit. [vi] Of a sick person cured by touching the tomb. [vii] Of the golden ring recovered by a night vision. [viii] Of a sufferer from dropsy who was cured at an amazing speed. [ix] Of a certain dean from the province of Lincoln who was cured. [x] Of a certain Gerard who was freed from his shackles. [xi] Of a lost psalter recovered by the merits of Saint William. [xii] Of a demoniac freed. [xiii] Of another mad person cured. [xiv] Of a bent woman cured. [xv] Of another bent woman. [xvi] Of a bent and mute girl. [xvii] Of another blind and mute. [xviii] Of a boy miraculously cured. [xix] Of a clerk who was in a bad way and was cured. [xx] Of a monk freed by a vision of swelling and pain in the eye. [xxi] Of Saint William's mother, whose illness and death were announced by him in a night vision. [xxii] Of a matron cured of a long-standing pain and swelling in her knees. [xxiii] Of another woman cured of deafness.

Here begins the fifth book.

[I] OF HIS TRANSLATION FROM THE CHAPTERHOUSE INTO THE CHURCH

A great multitude already began to flow – not only from the surrounding villages, but also from further parts – to the tomb of the blessed William, which at the time lay in the chapterhouse, so that the community of monks residing in the cloister could no longer bear the daily throng of such a multitude.[1] Every day a multitude of men and women passed noisily in front of them – how could their peace not be disturbed? And so it was decided by consultation within the community that God's glorious martyr should be transferred to the church and be placed there with his coffin, where access to him would be more easily available to the people thronging to it.

Need I say more? A place was provided near the high altar on its south side, and a fitting day was chosen for the carrying out of the business. The bishop, wishing that the translation come to the notice of only very few, instructed me and the sacrist, who was then Giulfus,[2] that with the necessary preparations duly made in advance, the event was to take place in such a way that it be completed at early

dawn with few people involved. The day was the second of July, and at midday, while the brethren were resting in the dormitory[3] and did not know what was taking place, I and the same Giulfus approached the tomb and, after the tombstone was removed, we found him in the condition in which we had previously put him there. And so we raised him up and carried him together to a secret place in the church until the morrow, and returned to the chapterhouse to replace the tomb slab, as if no change had occurred there.

[II] HOW AFTER THE MARTYR WAS TRANSLATED, ON THE FOLLOWING NIGHT, THE SACRIST HEARD MIRACULOUS THINGS IN THE CHAPTERHOUSE

On the following night we found out that something happened to which I have decided to draw the particular attention of readers, so as to remove any space for conjecture about it. It happened that around the middle of that night the said sacrist, lying asleep in the church, as is the custom, got up in order to wake the brethren in the dormitory for matins, as was usual. When he proceeded to the chapterhouse, while singing the matins of the glorious Virgin Mary,[4] he sat down for a while, so as to complete what remained of the matins, and so thereafter to go on with his customary business. After he had finished sitting in the corner of the chapterhouse for a while, suddenly from opposite him – that is, from the north side outside the chapterhouse – a violent and terrible sound began to arise. He could in no way explain in words the quality of the sound when he recounted the event to us. Having heard it, horror invaded him more than can be described in words: his hair stood on end and strength left his limbs, so that he could not even move his feet or raise his hand. Yet the sound that had risen grew louder and louder, passing from the side abovementioned to the east window of the chapterhouse, as if it would enter through it, gathering itself and making straight for the tomb, which we had left empty only the day before. After it made there an inexplicable sound for a while, it squeezed itself fully into the tomb and, as if gradually passing away from there into the distance, little by little faded from the ears of the listener.

And while this was happening the sacrist sat immobile, seized by horror beyond measure, puzzling in his mind the nature of the event. When later, indeed, the servants of the church came to set up the lamps in the cloister, he regained his spirit, got up and went to the dormitory to execute his usual duty of waking [the monks]. And because of the event, from that night on that sacrist instituted the

custom of having a lamp lit in the chapterhouse, and as long as he lived he observed this custom. Since then the practice still persists to this day, that at night there is a lamp burning in the chapterhouse.

But on the morrow after that night, as dawn rose, the bishop got up and what he had planned to execute with a few people in fact was completed with many. While the business was still in hand, suddenly a crowd gathered hastily from all directions, urged on by the zeal of devotion, more wishing to do instant service to the martyr than to obstruct the unfolding process. Finally, that venerable body of the martyr was placed again in a most suitable place for the time, but not with wholly suitable honour; and his tomb was secured with iron and lead. This done, we then remembered that first vision in which he had warned us to transfer him from the cemetery, and indicated that he wanted to rest for a while among the boys in the chapterhouse, and finally to be transferred to the church.

[III] OF THE YOUTH WHO VOMITED LIVE SERPENTS

And so, once the most blessed martyr was translated into the church he began to flourish in many more miracles than before, and declared how great he was with God by manifest signs. A little after the time of his translation, a certain youth from the village called Helgheton[5] came to the tomb of Saint William, led by his father. He was once a shepherd,[6] and while he was taking care of his sheep on a certain day he happened to fall asleep in a field under some bushes. While he snored with an open mouth, suddenly a serpent entered into it and, as if it had found a pleasant dwelling, gathered itself into his inner parts. The youth woke up, indeed, not knowing what misfortune had befallen him, but sensing from the movement the presence of evil. A sharp pain troubled his entrails and that inner turbulence grew worse and worse with every day that passed. He did not know what it was and wondered what disease could be so dire that it pierced his inner parts with such sharpness; but from the way it was developing he conjectured some idea of it.

After many years passed in such grievous discomfort, the young man came to William's tomb, as has been described above, led by his father to be cured by William's merits. After prayer and the offering of a candle, his father scraped the tombstone, dissolved the scrapings in holy water and gave it to his suffering son to drink. This done, with the father's faith the power of the martyr began to take effect immediately. As soon as that sacred drink descended into his innards,

the raging serpent began to suffer inside and it could not bear the presence of the sacred drink. And so the pain increased and the youth went out of the church hastily, and, lying on the ground in front of the doors of the church, with greatest pain he vomited a serpent and two of its young; much else besides came out and he remained lying on the ground for a while, as if dead. Whoever was present at this sight was indeed horrified by so frightening a portent. And the father, touched by excessive grief, rose against the serpent and killed it and its young, as if they were the killers of his son. And he preserved them as a sign of such a miracle, sticking them on a cleft stick. Then, after an hour's time, the young man got up healthy and thanked God and Saint William, his liberator, returning home with his father, full of joy.

[IV] OF SOME PEOPLE WHO WERE CURED OF THE BURNING OF FEVERS BY SAINT WILLIAM

It happened around that time that Adam, son of John, our bishop's steward,[7] suffered from a severe and long-standing fever. And the disease had grown to such a degree that his skin was shrivelled, marked by a certain wilted pallor, which looked to the eyes of witnesses like a sign of death. And so, advised either by his relatives or by the instinct of his own devotion, he came to the tomb of the blessed martyr, and after a while rested and fell asleep. After two hours had passed he then got up healthy and unharmed, as if he had never before sensed any pain.

Also a certain knight of Robert Va[letreius][8] was troubled in those days by a similar disease, and in the same way merited to obtain health at the same martyr's tomb. And we have learned that many others besides, suffering from fevers, frequently received there a remedy of health by the merits of Saint William.

[V] HOW HE CORRECTED THE PRIEST GODWIN, AS IF JOKING, AND CALLED HIM BACK FROM UNJUST PROFIT

At that time the priest Godwin, whom we have frequently mentioned before,[9] and whom we have already shown to have had possession of the martyr's wooden instrument of torture, known in English as a teasel,[10] used to dip it in holy water, and it is said that the remedy of health was conferred on many by drinking it. News of this persuaded a certain poor woman, who was suffering from a long-standing illness as best she could. She came to Godwin to receive the grace of health, and she said to him: 'Have mercy on me, sir, and have compassion on

my illness. And since you are in the habit of helping people by the merits of Saint William, help me, too, in my wretchedness. I believe surely that my cure lies in your hands. And may Saint William have mercy on you, as you have mercy on me.' Godwin answered her: 'What gift have you brought that you demand my favour with such confidence?' She answered him: 'God knows that I am so poor that I possess nothing more than what you see about me. I have spent all my earnings on doctors and I have benefited not at all.' To this Godwin said: 'If, as you claim, you are so poor, you can at least find a chicken to give me.' The woman answers: 'The chicken, sir, of which you speak, I neither have nor do I know how I might find one.' The indignant priest answered her in a proverb: 'Listen, woman, *He who does not give what he loves, does not receive what he desires*.[11] And so, if you want me to fulfil your prayers, go look for a chicken and offer it.' Having heard this, the woman broke into weeping and said amid her tears: 'Let God judge between us, and the pious martyr William will give you what you have deserved for your treatment of me.' And having said this she left in tears.

And, as we found out later, from that day she got better and soon recovered full health. But the priest, thinking little of it, since he despised the tears of the little entreating woman, perhaps incurred the wrath of God and of Saint William [too]. And we conclude from this that the sin of his ill will soon, not unjustly, procured the subsequent punishment of misfortune. And so it happened that all his chickens died on that night, and of a great number not one survived. Thus for the one he had improperly requested, he justly incurred the loss of the many. Come morning, when the priest discovered the onset of his misfortune, he immediately repented, realizing the guilt of yesterday's sin, and confessed to having gravely sinned. And because of that, compelled by fear, he vowed never again to seek profit in this manner through spiritual favours.

[VI] OF A SICK PERSON CURED BY TOUCHING THE TOMB

In those days Robert, son of Harvey the former baker, was seized for more than four months by a most serious illness, so that he was thought to be at death's door. As the illness got worse he lost any appetite for food, his limbs lost their strength and his pulse was so much weakened that the doctors despaired for his well-being. As he saw himself to be in straits, he took refuge in divine mercy. For this reason, because he was utterly weak in body, he was led on the arms

of his relatives to the holy martyr's tomb. Once there, and having uttered a prayer with greatest devotion, immediately, as he touched the sacred tombstone, he felt the effect of celestial medicine. He, who could hardly murmur even the short Lord's Prayer, a little after arriving picked up the psalter and began to say the psalms, and rejoiced in being able to run through the whole psalter. Having done so, he gave thanks to omnipotent God and to Saint William, and he who had arrived needing the help of others, now returned trusting in his own steps. And he who for many days had not tasted any food, consumed food with an appetite recovered, and merited – with his powers restored – to return to full health in a short period of time.

[VII] OF THE GOLDEN RING DISCOVERED BY A VISION

There was a certain knight near Lynn by the name of Reginald, son of Philip, whose wife loved Saint William with a remarkable feeling of devotion. One night, as she rested beside her husband in their bed, that same martyr, William, whom she loved, appeared to her in a vision. He thanked her lovingly for her devotion to him and refreshed her with sweet words. After a while he asked her to give him as a token of love a golden ring, smaller than the others – because she wore many – and he removed it up to the top of the finger on which it was. When she awoke the woman was frightened; recalling what had been seen and finding the ring at the top of her finger, she wondered what to do. So she shared what she had seen with her husband. Acting on his advice, she came to Norwich without delay and offered to Saint William the ring that had been requested. What is more, after that she offered herself wholly to him, indicating thereafter by her devout manner of life the affection she had for him.

[VIII] OF A SUFFERER FROM DROPSY WHO WAS CURED AT AN AMAZING SPEED

And we have seen a man from the province beyond the Humber come to the tomb of the glorious martyr William, because of a vow. He carried a large mass of wax made into a shape of boots and placed it on top of the tomb of the martyr William with the greatest zeal of devotion. When we tried to find out where he was from or why he had come, he replied: 'My native land is a region of the province of York and I have come here bound by a vow. For I was once a sufferer from dropsy, and I submitted for many years to the suffering of that sickness and presented a dreadful and miserable sight to those who saw me. I cannot at all express in words how much I have suffered the

anguish of pain. And so the pious martyr William, having compassion for my affliction, ordered me by a night vision that if I wanted to get well I should surround the whole swelling with wax and offer it to him at Norwich.

'A wonderful, astounding event! As soon as the wax surrounded the swollen limbs below my navel the swelling subsided to the extent that, once the wax was removed, not even a little sign of the swelling remained. Truly stupefied by such a miracle, and revived by so speedy a favour, I did not delay coming here as I was ordered. And here is the wax, by whose use I was cured, as I have told.' When we heard this we marvelled greatly at these things and were joyful and proclaimed that God is wonderful in William His saint.

[IX] OF A DEAN OF THE PROVINCE OF LINCOLN WHO WAS CURED

And a dean of the province of Lincoln came, a certain Robert[12] by name, who brought four pennies which he had vowed to give Saint William every year, and he placed them on top of his tomb as a tribute payment. When we asked him for the cause of his coming, he replied, saying: 'I was brought down with a long-standing weakness because of a defect in my constitution, and so, because of the length of the disease, among other body parts my head was swollen, too. I appeared to those who saw me as if I had already passed the threshold of life and was entering the vestibule of death. Already at the point of death, I clung onto life as if by a thread. The most holy martyr William, having compassion for the gravity and long, drawn-out harshness of the illness, appeared to me in a vision and, after consoling me with soft words, he added amongst them: "Be comforted, brother, because soon you will be cured. And once you are cured you should pay me in token of recompense four pennies every year." Having said that, he softly stroked my head and other limbs one after the other. At once the remedy of health followed that healing stroke. Having done that, he stood before me and said: "Now you are made well. Observe the command!"

'A wonderful event, almost beyond belief! For I woke up finding myself well and in good health, and I felt the truth of the pious vision in its outcome. And so I got up and, not wanting to delay my journey, mounted a horse and have come here to that end, and shall pay the tribute indicated for my head.' Having heard this, we marvelled greatly and were happy, and we glorified the favours of divine pity.

And we saw during Lent of that year [13 February to 27 March 1155] a certain Gerard, who was fleeing the tyranny of his lord and sought asylum in the church of Norwich. The knight called William of Whitwell[13] – although he was said to be, and was, his nephew – put him in shackles and imprisoned him[14] under a tight guard, because he would not at all agree to his wishes. Thereafter, he punished him cruelly as a rebel, with long fasting and nudity, and treated him with the savage violence of his tyranny. And when he had afflicted this wretched man in many amazing ways, from Candlemas [2 February] to the Friday before Palm Sunday, that most cruel knight did not flinch, but gazed at him with piercing eyes, and said: 'Think about it, Gerard, and take heed quickly of yourself. Behold, today I go to Norwich and I plan to return tomorrow. You have this amount of time to deliberate. But know this for sure, because unless upon my return you immediately submit to me, you will perish without any delay by a rare type of punishment.' And, having said that, he [William of Whitwell] ordered that he be bound in shackles to another man in such a way that Gerard's part [of the shackles] was locked with a cunningly devised key. And he placed that key in his wife's money box, which was placed inside a locked chest, and, as if that were not enough, he took the key to the chest away with him. As he left he ordered all the servants of his household to lie down around him [Gerard] most carefully at night and to lock all the doors to the house more carefully than usual, and to block them with benches and other kinds of obstacles.

Meanwhile, poor Gerard saw that everything was in a terrible way and, seeing his life in danger, was utterly terrified for himself and did not know what to do next. Yet he preferred to die rather than succumb to unjust servitude. Therefore, he uttered all that was in his mind before the omnipotence of divine pity and begged God's saints to be his helpers, and especially implored the help of the most holy and most merciful martyr William, saying: 'Glorious boy and martyr, William, if indeed what we have heard of you is true and you are of such power as we believe, help me in my misery, help me, about to die an unjust death. Free me, Lord, from the distress of my present calamity, so that, freed by the help of your strength, I may become a servant to you for ever.' When he had prayed from the bottom of his heart in this manner for the whole of that day and for a great part of the night, at last, both because of the effort of his vigil and the fervency of sorrow, he fell asleep. But it also happened that all the

guards were similarly overtaken by sleep.[15] When already half of the night had passed, it seemed to him, asleep in his shackles, that the holy martyr whom he had called on, William, was there with him, unlocking the shackles that had been secured by the key as I have described, and saying to him: 'Wake up, brother Gerard, and get up quickly, take off your share of the shackles and flee as soon as possible. See, you are released! Hurry! The south door already stands open as a passageway for you.'

Waking up, the man was terrified and amazed, but when he felt himself to be free he regained his courage and thought about flight. Without delay, picking up his share of the shackles, he rose in silence and directly stepped towards the door that had been pointed out to him, found it already open and immediately went out, and in swift flight delivered[16] himself to safety. He arrived in Norwich as dawn broke, and as soon as the church doors were opened he hurried to the tomb of Saint William, his liberator, and offered that same share of the shackles to him, in token of his liberation. And from that time on he served the church for the rest of his life.

[XI] OF A PSALTER LOST AND THEN FOUND

It happened at that time on the Saturday before Easter that I, Thomas, lost a psalter; and I was particularly sad at its loss, since I had copied it out with my own hands.[17] When it was not to be found at all, despite a long and careful search, a public enquiry was held about it in the church and the sentence of excommunication was then proposed. But since the effort of our search had borne us no fruit, finally I decided to turn to the protection of my unique patron. Having made a candle and brought it to his tomb, I prayed there with the greatest devotion, that the holy martyr by the impulse of his divine power should make the missing psalter return, which I had not been able to retrieve with all my laborious enquiries. And it turned out that on the morrow a certain Ralph, priest of the church of St Michael[18] in Norwich, came and approached the tomb of Saint William with the psalter in question, at a time when he thought he would be seen by no one; he left the psalter there and quickly departed. But I arrived there from the vestibule at that moment to say my prayers and suddenly saw the psalter, shed tears of happiness and picked it up with joy.

Later, when many folk investigated the matter more carefully, we found out that it was the same priest who had deposited it at the tomb of the martyr. He had bought it for three pennies, but given that he

heard that it had been stolen and was frequently being sought in the church, and I do not know whether inspired by shame or corrupted by a desire to keep it, he delayed in returning it. The book was indeed precious and valuable, not unworthy of being coveted. But as we have figured out for several reasons, he would not have returned it, but for being compelled by some fear. And they say that on the night of the day on which, as we said, we had offered a candle to the holy martyr, that most blessed martyr appeared to that priest in sleep and gave him a terrible warning if he did not return the psalter on the next day. We believe that he returned the book because he was urged by that compulsion.

[XII] OF A DEMONIAC WHO WAS CURED BY THE MERITS OF SAINT WILLIAM

Hiding from others the benefit of divine goodness – which can be of such benefit to many if they find out about it – is indeed a sign of jealousy. For truly, good things shine forth all the more beautifully if they are verified by the knowledge of many. Therefore, it is inappropriate to suppress through silence that which it is highly useful to divulge for the edification of devotion. The pious simplicity of those of good will knows that by often hearing the miracles of saints, the feeling of pious devotion is usually ignited. But while miracles follow other miracles, and the great are followed by even greater, indeed, our pen must be tempered in writing, lest the little flame of pious devotion be extinguished by the weariness inspired by excessive reading. While we have faithfully related the miracles of the blessed martyr William for the devotion of the faithful, as far as we have been able to know them by what we have heard or seen, he sins who puts about that we have struck the stamp of truth on untruths or have dressed up events with figments of the imagination. But now let the careful reader pay attention with the simple eye of the mind, that the most blessed martyr William, accepted by God, rules over not only the illnesses of humans, but also truly over the tricks of demons. We have seen a certain peasant, Simon of Hempstead,[19] who was vexed by a demon for many days, and after he tied himself hand and foot to that healing tomb of Saint William, on the next day he was led home hale and healthy.

[XIII] OF ANOTHER INSANE PERSON WHO WAS CURED

We have also seen another possessed person who was cured by divine mercy at the tomb of Saint William in the week of Pentecost. He was a

son of Richard of Needham,[20] whose mother was called Silverun. Suddenly one day he was possessed by a demon and then began to behave so violently that seven men could hardly restrain him in chains. Once he was tied up, he remained so for six days, eating nothing, sleep escaping him, so he got little rest. Bound in this way, he was finally led to the oft-mentioned tomb by his parents, and as they approached suddenly he cried out in a horrible voice and said: 'What do you want of me? Where are you leading me? I won't go there! I won't go there!' When they led him there forcibly, he broke his chains not with his own, but with the effort of the malign spirit and, rising up, he threw his mother to the ground and grabbed her by the throat with his teeth. And he would have caused her death had the crowd running to them not snatched and freed her. He then hissed through his teeth and, gazing at those standing around with savage eyes, abused those he could in a miserable fashion.

And as many people gathered there because of the events, he was cruelly seized, tied up, his hands bound to his feet, willy-nilly he was placed at the side of the holy tomb. As soon as he touched the sacred place, wonderful to relate, he showed not the smallest sign of madness in his voice or on his face. After an hour had passed, gently and humbly he asked to be released, and he was freed by one of the servants of the church, and thereafter he behaved as calmly and meekly as if he had not had the madness before. And after a while he was overtaken by sleep, he who – as I said – had not slept at all for many days, and he rested for a while. And when he woke up, he who for many days had remained without food, said that he felt very hungry. And so when food was brought he ate and drank, and returned home with all speed with his parents and friends, sane and in good health.

[XIV] OF A BENT WOMAN ON CRUTCHES WHO WAS CURED

In that same Pentecost week, on Saturday before the feast of Holy Trinity, a little woman came to the tomb of the holy martyr, who from early in life lived in Bury St Edmunds, and was bent for many years. She walked with hand-crutches, as far as she could, and came to Norwich after being instructed in a dream by Saint William. And approaching as far as she could on account of the crowd, she prayed at the aforementioned tomb that by the merits of Saint William the martyr the mercy of divine compassion would take pity on her disability. The moment she finished her prayer, she was immediately

distressed, seized by an acute pain, her sinews distended with a loud creaking and her body stretched out, too. When she had lain down for a while in terrible suffering the pain eased and she became calmer, and after about an hour she rose up, sound and healthy, in our full view, and gave thanks to God and His holy martyr William for the health restored to her.

[XV] OF ANOTHER WOMAN, WEAK IN HER WHOLE BODY, WHO WAS CURED

There was a woman at that time in the village called Flordon,[21] who incurred a weakness in her whole body because of the pain of childbirth and the illness of the limbs caused by contracted muscles, so that for many days after childbirth she could neither eat with her own hands nor walk with her own feet. And she passed very many days in this condition, until in the hands of her husband and several others she was put on a horse and conducted to the tomb of Saint William. She was placed near the tomb and for herself – and her family on her behalf – uttered prayers and vows. When she had waited three hours, divine pity through the merits of its holy martyr relieved the woman's illness, and as healing power invisibly travelled, limb by limb, through her weak channels, she became visibly better. Her limbs were restored thanks to divine power; being confident in herself, the woman rose up, the pain in her innards diminished, and she gave thanks and praise to God and Saint William for the cure conferred upon her. And so it happened that she, who had come sad and in need of the support of others, returned home happy with her own steps, in the company of her relatives.

[XVI] OF A GIRL WHO WAS BENT AND DUMB AND WAS CURED

That year, on the Thursday before Easter,[22] which is called by Christians the Day of Absolution, while Bishop William was celebrating the festive Mass, a woman came to the tomb of Saint William carrying her seven-year-old daughter, who was bent and mute. The mother set her down next to the tomb in the view of many people. After she prayed with tears, she joined Godiva, the wife of Sebald, son of Brunstan,[23] who was sitting there. When she had stayed there some time, oppressed by chance by tiredness, she fell asleep. Meanwhile, as an egg was brought to the tomb, the girl who before could neither move nor speak – with the same Godiva as witness – rose up and took the egg, turned to her mother and said in her mother tongue: 'Look, mother, I have an egg.' At this sound the mother woke

up and, seeing her daughter speaking and walking, she burst into tears for sheer delight. And now, having confidence in her daughter, she publicly announced to those present the great gifts which divine mercy had bestowed upon her by the merits of Saint William. And as we rushed up to her and asked her with great care what had happened, we heard from the said Godiva and many others that they did indeed know the woman and had often seen that maiden bent and mute.

[XVII] OF ANOTHER GIRL BLIND, DEAF AND DUMB FROM BIRTH

Not many days later, a little poor woman from Grimston[24] was instructed in a vision by the same Saint William that if she wished her daughter, who was blind and mute from birth, to be cured, she should bring her to him in Norwich. Urged on by these promises, she made haste to come with her daughter; and, having brought her, laid her down at the head of the tomb and said with a clear voice: 'Glorious William, martyr of God, look, I have brought my daughter as you have commanded: do to her, Lord, as you have promised.' And she cried as she said this and begged divine mercy for the health of her daughter.

And so it was as if the tears of motherly love reached up to heaven, so that by the devout effect of prayer the maiden attained health. For immediately the power of the martyr began to work, together with maternal devotion. What more can be said? Unexpectedly, the film which obscured the maiden's eyes – like a membrane of an egg – was removed, and blood began to gush from her eyes and to trickle down to the floor. She cried out on account of the distress [caused by] pain, weeping and plucking at her cheeks; we all came running to find out what was going on. And although we had learned the outcome as the mother described it, we wanted to know the truth more surely, and we placed a burning candle on top of a stick. We put it in front of her eyes and, moving it from side to side, the maiden observed the light and wondered at it as something truly unknown to her; whenever it moved, the candle was followed by her eyes. Taking the candle away, we then showed her an apple. She took it up and, as she admired it, her mother said to her in English: 'Eat, daughter, eat the apple.' And when the little girl repeated the words, she believed herself to have answered her mother, since she did not know how to say anything else, except what she had heard from another. And from that we concluded that she was no longer blind, mute and deaf. And so we were confirmed of such a great miracle, and we paid our grateful

praise to divine grace, so that from that day on, a pious devotion towards Saint William took root in the hearts even of those who had doubted.

[XVIII] OF A CERTAIN BOY MIRACULOUSLY CURED

At that time a boy, son of William Polcehart, was laid so low by illness that he no longer ate any food, and with the disease getting worse and worse he had no respite or rest, even for an hour. The doctors were consulted about the boy's health and profited him not at all;[25] at last the desperate parents took themselves to the help of Saint William. They made a vow over this, so that if the boy were cured by his [William's] merits, they would offer him the best possible candle as token of his liberation. And so a candle was made the length and breadth of the boy, and was brought to the tomb of the said martyr; and immediately the boy, as if snatched from the jaws of death, was revived at the sudden coming of health, and in a short time was better, against all expectation. And the parents, indeed, after looking diligently into the truth of the matter, discovered that the moment at which he was restored to health was just when Saint William was offered his candle.

[XIX] OF A CERTAIN CLERK AT DEATH'S DOOR WHO WAS RESTORED TO HEALTH

Not much later, Adam the Clerk,[26] nephew of Edward of Yarmouth, fell gravely ill in his body. When the doctors despaired of his health, he fixed the anchor of his well-being to divine mercy alone. Meanwhile, at the behest of his relatives, he called on the blessed martyr William, with a contrite heart and the voice of supplication, and, begging for his help, he vowed that if William granted a remedy to this current illness, he would be his servant for ever. Led by this devotion, he ordered that a candle the length and breadth of his own size be made and be brought to Norwich to William's tomb. And it came to pass that at the very hour when his envoy offered the candle for his health, the sick man suddenly felt better. And when [the envoy] returned, he found the man whom he had left at his departure at death's door, restored to health.

[XX] OF A MONK CURED BY A VISION

But I do not think I should be silent about something else that would enchant the readers' labour and will not offend the devotion of the

listeners. There was once in Norwich a certain monk, who was simple and pious, called Peter Peverell.[27] He had always been greatly devoted to the holy martyr William and loved him with a special affection. On the night of the Lord's Advent [Christmas Eve], while he returned from matins in good health, he took himself to bed and to sleep, and while asleep suddenly suffered the anguish of intolerable pain, perhaps due to an unfortunate accident. A most terrible pain invaded his right eye and a swelling followed like attendants in the footsteps of their lord. The monk was roused up, indeed, by suffering the terrible pain and immediately broke into cries in a dreadful voice, so much so that not one of those lying around him could rest for his cries. As the pain grew worse and worse, the whole right side of the face became swollen and offered a terrible spectacle to those who saw it. And the suffering increased so much over a few days that he would have rather died than live like that any longer. But among the piercing pains, he frequently repeated the names of Saint Mary and Saint William, and challenged them to explain why they did not help their servant.

After he had acted so for some time, the pain abated a little, and on the following night he had some rest. And it seemed that William, the blessed martyr of God, stood by him, saying: 'I am that William, whom you have loved much, whom you have chosen as patron and whose help you have invoked. Behold, I am here and now you will feel the effect of my coming.' This said, he passed his healing hand gently over the swollen right side of the face. At his touch the swollen face immediately subsided, as if it had never been swollen.

Once this had happened the vision disappeared and the sick man passed the rest of the night more quietly than usual. When finally light rose on the morrow, he discovered the whole swelling of the face had gone down. But the swelling of the eye, which was the greater affliction – although the pain had been somewhat relieved – still remained as it had been, and he prayed to Saint William in a more fervent spirit to confer a full remedy to his suffering. And so it happened that on the next night, while he slept, Saint William came to him again and, approaching very close, he impressed the sign of the Cross with his thumb on the bad eye.

An amazing thing and full of wonder! After the sign was made it was as if an awl had pricked it, and suddenly the skin under the eye parted and much bloody matter flowed over his face. As he woke up and, remembering the form of the vision, he wiped away that matter, which he took to be a sign that he had been cured. And it was shown that, indeed, this was not an illusion of fancy, but a real

demonstration of a true vision, by the bloody matter that continued to be discharged for several days, and the mark of what had happened remained in the scar.

[XXI] OF THE MOTHER OF SAINT WILLIAM THE MARTYR AND HOW HER ILLNESS, AND DEATH FROM IT, WERE ANNOUNCED BY A VISION

A few days later in the city of Norwich a virgin, the daughter of Martin the fisherman, who loved and venerated the blessed martyr William with singular feeling, saw him appear to her in a vision by night when she was asleep, saying: ‘Be comforted, my dearest girl, and stay fast in your love for me. Just as you love a virgin in me, I want you to guard the flower of your virginity unharmed, and grant to me, a virgin, the pure service of virginal devotion. And when tomorrow dawns you are to execute some mundane tasks, which I enjoin upon you now. On my behalf, tell the sacrist Giulfus that he should have a cross made for me of the size that pleases him and put it at the foot of my tomb. Since I have long lain on my left side, I wish to have constantly before my eyes the sign of the Lord’s Cross, which I myself have carried on my body. It should be fixed where I have said, so that without the effort of turning my neck I am able to see it. And if the sacrist neglects to do so, tell Thomas the precentor[28] and my mother, so that they should at once execute what I have commanded. And further add to my mother this: that she should not be upset if something adverse happens to her. She should bear it most willingly and modestly, because by passing through the suffering of the flesh she will pass for ever into the eternal glory of the celestial kingdom.’

This said, the night vision disappeared. Morning came and the virgin remembered what she had seen, and was delighted at a vision so worthy of her veneration. As quickly as she could, she related in order the whole business to those she was instructed to tell. Yet the said sacrist neglected the matter, thinking little of it, or perhaps because other affairs intervened, and it was carelessly overlooked. Be that as it may, I and the mother of the martyr discussed the instructions, took the matter in hand and followed it through. But because some misfortune occurred, the business was delayed for a while. For in those days the mother of that holy martyr happened to fall ill and began to suffer from the grave sickness of dropsy, so that she could no longer walk or rise from her bed, unless supported by a helper. Its virulence grew worse and she lay in bed, praying in this way: ‘Saint William, dearest son, have mercy on your mother, she who

suffered such pain for you, both before and during birth, have compassion on my pains and on me.'

Moved by this prayer, the pious boy and martyr felt for his mother's sufferings[29] and that night appeared to her in a vision, saying: 'Be comforted, Mother, and bear patiently the suffering, which God has prepared for you as a crown. If any rust attaches to your sinful soul it must be purified in the furnace of adversity. And so let the silver of the flesh be tested so that it may earn a place in the treasure of the highest king.[30] Know, then, that your illness will be relieved within a week, during the week of Pentecost that is now at hand, and you will come to me on your own feet. And when you come, you will bring with you the cross that I ordered. In particular, after some days have passed, your illness will return for a while. And although it will weigh upon you much more heavily, your brave spirit will bear it more bravely,[31] because every stain of your sins will be wiped away by the suffering of this illness. And, having been cleansed, the Lord has granted to me that you shall pass over to me and live on, sharing my joy without end.' Saying this he disappeared.

When morning came the woman told those who were with her what she had heard and seen. She also took care to tell me about it when I visited her in her sickness. I could never have put faith in these events, had I not seen them at first hand. But when I saw her get better thereafter, and come healthy to the tomb of her son during the said week, bringing the cross as instructed – and the earlier disease recurring and her life coming to an end – after all that, what else should I believe, but that the vision was not false? And as to her, when she ended her life of the flesh, as was foretold, we showed the service of human kindness and, because of the devotion we had for the son, we buried the mother honourably in our cemetery.

[XXII] OF A WOMAN CURED OF A PAINFUL CONDITION AND OF A GRAVE AND LONG-STANDING SWELLING IN HER KNEES

After a while Goda, the wife of a certain Copmann of Norwich, who was called 'Of the Spring',[32] came to the tomb of Saint William to receive a remedy for her illness. She had been suffering for many days from pain in her entrails,[33] and then the suffering descended and that intolerable pain entered her knees, and in a short time made them swell very much. When the piercing pains grew so that the knees reached the size of pots, so great had the suffering increased that she totally lost the use of her feet, and restful sleep escaped her eyes. She

moaned day and night, cried out, and had such sharp pain that if you had seen her you would have thought her vital spirit would not last long. And the sharpest pain in her left eye was added to her pile of woes, so that in a short while the swelling eye exceeded the size of an egg. She despaired for her health and had herself brought to Saint William, whom she had always loved with a deep devotion. When she was near his tomb she prayed at length, offered a candle and, as best she could, touched the tombstone with bare knees, and with the cloth that covered the tomb carefully wiped the eye that was suffering so badly.

Wonderful to relate! By the operation of the miraculous power of the martyr, together with the woman's faith, immediately at the touch of the tombstone all pain and the swelling of the knees vanished, and, thanks to the cloth, divine pity helped the ailing eye. And so she who had arrived sad and suffering from a severe illness returned joyful, cured by celestial medicine.

[XXIII] OF ANOTHER WOMAN CURED OF A LONG-STANDING DEAFNESS OF THE EARS

Not much later a certain Aldith Thoche, the widow of a chandler, whose cure of a long-standing illness by the merits of Saint William we have already recounted in the second book,[34] led by faith, came to the said holy martyr's tomb and begged for a remedy for her deafness. For a long time she had been getting increasingly deaf and the condition grew so bad that unless you put your mouth to her ears she could not have heard you at all. In consequence, she was afraid to go out in public and had no conversation but with the members of her household. And she was very much afraid lest, when the extent of her deafness came to the notice of others, it would inspire ridicule. So she ran for succour in this plight to the intercession of Saint William: she offered a candle and, after pouring out a fountain of tears, she prayed there for a while. Finally, bending her knees in prayer and inspired by the fervour of faith, she covered both ears with the cloth that covered the tomb. What need of many words? At that point of time the devoted tears pierced the heavens, the petitioner's faith extracted the mercy of divine pity and the deaf woman received hearing in her ears.

Now, as we have gone a long way and let our horse run on a loose rein, tired by the chase we call a halt.[35] As we are tired we retire for a modest rest, suspending our labour for a time.

Here ends the fifth book.

Book Six

The chapters of the sixth book begin. [i] Of the fourth translation of the holy martyr from the south side of the high altar to the north side, to an altar which is called ‘of the holy martyrs’. [ii] Of the daughter of Reginald of Warenne who was miraculously cured. [iii] Of a certain man who was cured of an acute pain in his foot. [iv] Of a certain Everard who was insane and then cured. [v] Of another man who was restored to health from amazing insanity. [vi] Of an insane woman similarly cured. [vii] Of a boy freed from epilepsy. [viii] Of a blind woman who gained sight. [ix] Of Philip de Bella Arbore and the iron ring around his arm which was broken at Saint William’s tomb. [x] Of another, like him miraculously freed there from an iron on his right arm. [xi] A commendation of that miracle. [xii] Of a woman who was amazingly bent and was cured. [xiii] Of a hunchback boy bent over and cured, and then again bent and again cured as before. [xiv] Of a woman amazingly swollen and cured. [xv] Of another like her with a tumour in the throat who was cured. [xvi] Of a man made swollen and blackened by the breath of a serpent cured by the merits of Saint William. [xvii] Of a virgin whose breast was miraculously cured. [xviii] Of those saved at sea and the calming of a tempest. [xix] Of two men whose feet were bound in shackles, and freed by the blessed William by a night vision. [xx] Of another. [xxi] Of Albert Gresley’s falcon, who was miraculously cured.

Here begins the sixth book.

[I] OF THE FOURTH TRANSLATION OF THE HOLY MARTYR FROM THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE HIGH ALTAR TO THE NORTH SIDE, TO AN ALTAR WHICH WAS CALLED ‘OF THE HOLY MARTYRS’

While the wondrous power of the holy martyr William grew with so many and such great miracles, a crowd of people more numerous than had been usual began to visit him. And since the place where the martyr lay did not accommodate a throng of so many and such frequent crowds – and, in fact, the inconvenience was often irksome – at the suggestion of Prior Richard and the entreaty of the convent, a suitable place was identified by the bishop, where he could lay with greater decorum and the people thronging to the tomb could approach it without trouble. There was, indeed, in the north part of Norwich Cathedral to the side of the high altar a chapel formerly designated for the veneration of the martyrs. So this place was preferred over others

as suitable for the holy martyr, because it was spacious, because it was situated in a quiet enclosure and because it was consecrated in honour of martyrs.

And that year was AD 1154, in which the day after Easter Monday was on the nones of April [5 April], when Bishop William girded himself to execute the solemn business of the translation, and with the bishop the holy community of monks. On that day, I say, a great multitude of people crowded together and the body of the martyr was carried there with the greatest veneration. There he lies, buried under the altar in the said chapel dedicated to the holy martyrs. And there he rests, buried in body but alive in glory that shines in daily miracles. He lights the earth with his limbs and inherits heaven with his merits. There the martyr so very acceptable to God shines forth in frequent miracles until this very day, and shows in the most revealing signs how much virtue and merit he has with God. There we have frequently seen the restoration of sight to the blind, walking to the lame, speech to the mute and good sense to the insane.[1] We have also seen many sick people cured and not a few people bound by shackles freed. Not only are miracles present there, but they even grow more and greater; it is evident that his merits are special and precious in heaven.

[II] OF THE DAUGHTER OF REGINALD OF WARENNE MIRACULOUSLY CURED

A few days after the translation, the little daughter of Reginald of Warenne,[2] who had been ill for quite some time, as her illness worsened, reached death's door. Truly, everyone was despairing of her health, because she was at the threshold of death, as if her life hung by the merest thread. Certainly, the parents were deeply saddened by the grave danger to their daughter, whom they had always loved above all others. Finally, on the mother's advice, she was carried to Norwich to be cured by the merits of the blessed William. When she arrived there and touched the tomb with an offering, divine pity immediately helped her, through the intercession of her glorious martyr William. At that moment she got better and she who had arrived dying, returned home with her family restored to health.[3]

[III] OF A CERTAIN MAN WHO WAS CURED FROM AN ACUTE PAIN IN HIS FOOT

There was at that time in Norwich a man called Godric, a money-changer by profession, who had already been suffering for many days with a pain in one foot, so that he could hardly walk or even touch it

to the ground. When a great deal of time had already passed in great pain, on the advice of his relatives he came as best he could with the help of a stick to the tomb of Saint William. After offering there a foot made of wax, prepared in advance and brought by him, he commended himself totally in prayer and vow to the holy martyr. When he rose after a while, he already sensed that the pain in his foot had been much lessened and, going home with joy, he soon was totally cured.

[IV] OF A CERTAIN INSANE EVERARD WHO WAS CURED

Again, one day a certain Everard, whom the people of Norwich called the Fisherman, who was disturbed by an unclean spirit and had his feet bound up in shackles and his arms tied behind his back, was led to the tomb of the holy martyr by the hands of a number of people. When, after a while, it happened that his hands were accidentally freed from the handcuffs, whoever he could touch he cruelly lacerated with his nails and teeth. But he was taken up by the many people who rushed up to him, who secured him very tightly and placed him – as he resisted fiercely – next to the tomb. While he spent the night there, his tongue did not stop moving even for a while, but he called aloud as if a great crowd of people were present. His noisy tongue spoke nothing but nonsense and blasphemies. Finally, around daybreak, he was quiet for a while and God's grace took pity – by the merits of Saint William, as we believe – and he, who had passed so many nights and days without sleep, now entered a wholesome sleep. With a few intervening periods of waking, again and again he fell asleep in this way, until the benefit of rest made his sick brain better. Afterwards, he was very hungry and when food and drink were brought he ate and drank; around the ninth hour he went away healthy and joyful.

[V] OF ANOTHER MAN RESTORED TO HEALTH FROM AN AMAZING INSANITY

We also saw at another time, another man of an insane mind going mad in an extraordinary fashion in front of the tomb of the blessed martyr; his name was Robert, from the parish of St Michael, Conisford, in Norwich.[4] He used to be seized by bouts of insanity at unpredictable times, and on that account had come with his mother to Saint William to receive the gift of health. But when he arrived at the church he immediately began to shake, as if seized. His mother, crying, coaxed him with many soft words and dragged him to the cathedral and set him in front of the martyr's tomb. There he stayed

calm for a time next to his mother, who was at prayer, while a large crowd of men and women looked on. All of a sudden his whole body shook as if he were falling apart, and he was suffering to an incalculable degree. His eyes burned like fires; his cries were terrible. His own mouth made many different sounds; forgetful of being human, he twisted and tore off his clothes. He was not ashamed of showing his private parts; he performed many deeds of strength, while being unable to control himself. The crowd gathered round him, seized with fear; all were stupefied; some wept and many prayed for the recovery of the patient.

What need of many words? We believe that the merits of the holy martyr intervened and divine mercy looked upon him and expelled the insane spirit from the raving man, giving health thereafter. The people were filled with wonder at the miracle and they spread the word of divine power in William, its saint, and everyone returned home with joy.

[VI] OF AN INSANE WOMAN WHO WAS CURED

Also at another time a certain woman of Belaugh,[5] by the name of Sieldeware, was troubled by a malign spirit and was brought to Norwich by her relatives to be cured by Saint William's merits. When she arrived at the entrance to the church, she resisted her escorts there and could hardly be drawn inside, even by four of the strongest men. She demonstrated amazing strength and tried to escape from the hands of those who were holding her. She cried out in a loud voice: 'What do you want to do with me? Where are you dragging me? I will not go there, there!'[6] Then they gathered their strength and seized her most forcefully; removing the veil from her head, they bound her arms with her veil and her feet with her belt.[7] Bound in this way, she was carried to the tomb of the holy martyr, crying and wailing; she was placed nearby with the consent of the guardian monk.

From that moment she immediately behaved much more calmly and restrained her foolish cries. For the malign enemy was afraid, I believe, to disturb the saint with his shouts, and, having disturbed him, to give excessive offence to him whose formidable presence he sensed to be in the vicinity. And since while she was there she was behaving peacefully, those who had brought her there insane believed her now to be recovered. And for that reason she was moved away, deep into a private compartment, all the more confidently, because they believed her cured, and all the more properly, because it was to

stop the people who gather at the tomb with offerings from being disturbed by her presence.

And so, after she had been removed, but was still tied up in the manner I have described, that same malign enemy invaded her as before and disturbed her spirit. From this it is possible to deduce that he was really afraid of the blessed martyr, in whose presence he did not dare to disturb her, but the moment she was away [from the tomb], the enemy was present, tormenting her. The woman, lying on the ground, was now kicking it with her heels, now trying to break the bonds that bound her with her teeth. Now she mouthed disgusting nonsense, now the church was filled with horrible cries. A great multitude of people had gathered to see such a miserable spectacle. I, too, was there, by chance, and was moved to pity for the wretch, and gave instructions that she was to be placed again next to the tomb. This done, suddenly, as if she had suffered no ill before, she was quiet and not a single sign of insanity appeared in her. Above all, after a while, she was seized by sleep: she who previously had not slept for many days or eaten food, fell asleep and she lay continuously asleep for two half-days and one night.[8] On the third day she woke up and, when food and drink were brought to her, she refreshed her exhausted spirit. Returned in this manner to full health, the woman received a celestial remedy, by which her body was strengthened in health and her soul in faith.

[VII] OF A BOY FREED FROM EPILEPSY

A certain knight of Haughley,[9] Ranulph by name, had a son who had suffered for many years from epilepsy. When he was taken by his relatives to the tomb of Saint William he uttered a prayer, made an offering and – as we later learned from the mother's messenger – no longer felt the suffering of that illness. And another man of Lothingland[10] – whose name escapes me – came with the priest of the village, and he (that is to say, the peasant) was also suffering from epilepsy. He was so disturbed by the illness that not a single day passed on which he did not feel its pain. And when he came to the venerable tomb of the blessed martyr he spent a while in prayer, offered a candle, and what he asked for piously in his faith he was deemed worthy to receive. For divine grace acceded to the merits of Saint William and the man no longer felt the usual disturbance of the illness; and we later found out the truth of the matter both from him and from others.

At that time in King's Lynn, in the parish of St Edmund,[11] there was a certain woman called Gilliva, daughter of Burcard the Carpenter. She lost her sight by some accident and was condemned to blindness of her eyes for three years. To add to the misfortune, so terrible a pain developed in her eyelids and oppressed her with suffering that for three whole years her eyes were always closed, as if stuck together with glue, as if she would never be able to open them again. When three years had passed, she decided to seek refuge in the haven of the blessed martyr William, as sole and singular remedy; and with greater confidence, since she had learned by common report that others similarly condemned to blindness had been cured at his tomb. Her young nephew walked before her, leading the way with a cord around her, and she finally arrived in Norwich at Saint William, thanks to that guide. And so, standing in front of the altar, she began to pray and, after saying a small part of the prayer, the rest was interrupted by a sudden attack of pain. Indeed, her head was troubled and both eyes were seized with a fiery heat; and she plucked at her forehead and cheeks with her nails. Wild with anguish, the wretch rolled on the ground and, as if in a fit of madness, she rolled on the pavement, filling and disturbing the whole church with immense and frightful cries. But among the pangs of pain she cried out with a clear voice, saying from time to time: 'Gentle boy! Martyr William! Have pity on me, a wretch! You who have so often had pity on others!'

A multitude of people had come to the church that day and they gathered round the spectacle. Seeing the violence of her pain, everyone shared her sorrow, and, inwardly moved to pity, they poured out both prayers and tears. It was such a miserable sight that men and women alike cried, made vows and wailed. For who could watch such things and be so stony-hearted as to keep their eyes from weeping? At last, after much suffering and torment, as we truly believe by the impulse of divine mercy and the interventions of the merits of the blessed martyr, gradually the pain began to abate. When she felt the coming of the celestial remedy she got up from the ground and stretched her hands to heaven; and the eyelids which before were closed and which for pain she could not open even a little, now she opened; and immediately something like a spurt of blood flowed out, bursting from both eyes. Without delay, the night of her long-standing blindness was dispelled, as if by a dawn of new light reborn. She, who for so long had not seen and who for so long had desired to see, now seeing, was delighted and said: 'Now to you, highest God, maker and

repairer of all things, and to you, William, most holy martyr of God, I pay due praises and thanks, for after so much suffering I am now at rest, and after three years of continuous blindness I have sight.'

Having said this, and wiping the blood from her eyes and walking on her own feet, she came closer to the tomb of the holy martyr, prayed and offered a candle, which was brought to her; and, turning to the people, she announced that she had received her eyesight. The people present were amazed, sorrow turned into joy, and with a single cry of all they extolled the glorious and manifest power of the blessed martyr William to the praise of God.

[IX] OF PHILIP DE BELLA ARBORE AND THE IRON RING – AROUND HIS ARM – WHICH WAS SHATTERED

The wonder and fame of the holy martyr grew daily. And people gathered to him from afar and from many regions, as the bound were freed, the sick were cured and those who came in sorrow went away in joy. Indeed, Christ spread by miraculous signs the grace He had conferred upon His saint. As great miracles were succeeded by even greater, the praise of the blessed martyr – by whose merit they were done – grew, not undeservedly, and the glory of his fame spread more widely. If I were to record all of those events, my mound of prolixity would induce distaste. Therefore, we have gathered with a simple pen for the pious devotion of the reader what we have deemed to be most worth telling or most celebrated; those events which will neither wound the mind of those who browse through them nor temper the feeling of devotion.

And so I deem it worth the effort to invite the devotion of the readers' prayers, and, having done so, to kindle it, and, having kindled it, to amplify it by recounting that truly wondrous case of Philip de Bella Arbore.[12] He was a native of the region of Lorraine, of noble descent, a knight by profession, pre-eminent in the honour of secular affairs. He obtained through inheritance from his father ample lands and very many castles, but he had a brother who was his adversary and rebelled against him: he [the brother] had diminished the property due to him by a significant part through fraud and rapacious violence. And so it happened that brotherly affection was driven from their minds as hatred entered and grew. The malice of hatred had already grown so much that they thirsted for nothing more than each other's blood, and hoped for well-being in nothing except the death of the other.

And as well-being and danger were tossed by the hazard of fortune, it so happened that Philip, on a day when he was travelling with his men, unexpectedly came upon his rebellious brother with a few of his men. In this crisis, the brother was terrified, turned his bridle round and placed his hope of safety in a speedy escape. And so in flight he reached a church nearby in which some canons lived under the habit of religion, serving God. Trembling, he entered it with his men, as if it were the sole haven of his safety, and the doors were locked shut. Soon Philip arrived in pursuit, speedy in his course, and banged on the locked doors, angrily requesting that his enemy be handed over to him. When he had persisted for a long time with requests and threats and sensed that he was trying in vain, finally in his anger he lit a fire, so as to extract by the fear of fire what the terror of threats was not achieving. And so the fire was lit and, as there was a strong wind, the church – what a crime! – was burned down including its domestic buildings and its inhabitants and everything in it, and the place was reduced to a bare plain.

The victor thought little of the crime he had perpetrated, because, with his enemy consumed in this way, his spirit only rejoiced with a victor's joy. But so cruel an act could not go unnoticed for long, because at the time of the action the news of what had happened became common knowledge all around, so that at last news of it came to the Archbishop of Trier, to whose diocese Philip belonged. He was summoned to the archbishop once, twice and a third time to answer for so great a crime. But as on the day before, and the one before that, he was found to be insolent and contumacious, and – as the rigour of Christian religious faith determines – he was at last punished by the sentence of excommunication, and his lands and all his goods were bound by the chain of anathema, as ecclesiastical custom decrees.

But he, burning with youthful fervour, unbridled and unrestrained, cared nothing for it all, respecting neither God nor men, driven by the Furies,[13] and he persevered for two years on the course of unrepentant malice upon which he had embarked. During that time, worn out by the recurrent warnings of his men, he was finally persuaded, and this most savage of lawbreakers returned to his true self. And because *dire wrath does not see right*,[14] blinded by anger he had never appreciated the ferocity of the crime he had perpetrated; but later, as he returned to his true self, he was horrified and deplored it deeply. And so when he was humbled and deeply distressed, he fell prostrate at the feet of the archbishop, wailing: he begged for forgiveness and earned it. And so the archbishop sent him and his fellow malefactors to the Pope,

who at the time was Eugenius,[15] and added to the letter an account of the crime; the Pope sent them back to the sender with a response, laying down a penance.

What need of many words? Philip wore mail on his bare body and he was girded with his own sword and irons gripped his arms. What is more, exile and pilgrimage were enjoined for a period of ten years and he was commanded to have that holy place repaired.[16] Those who were his partners in the terrible crime were similarly subject to the punishment. And so they, too, were condemned to the irons, similarly left their lands and their people, living as pilgrims in a foreign land for the period enjoined. After seven years of travel through many regions, by divine mercy at the Lord's sepulchre in Jerusalem the iron rings on Philip's mail were broken and loosened and he was freed of the greater part of his punishment. Also, in Ireland, at the shrine of St Brendan,[17] by the grace of divine virtue, the sword with which he was girded was broken. And in England, at Norwich, at the tomb of the blessed martyr William, the iron ring on his right arm was broken.

And after a lengthy journey, during which he reached many regions of England and sought out the places and prayers of the saints, and, drawn by divine grace, we believe, he arrived in Norwich at the now most famous tomb of the illustrious martyr William. There, while he poured out prayers of pious devotion, immediately in front of our eyes the iron ring of the right arm cracked and the sound of it was astonishing to the ears of those present. In that deed, done by the martyr, the power of divine pity shone forth clearly to us. That holy community of monks gathered to see so glorious a spectacle, and proclaimed God wonderful in His holy martyr, giving praise and due thanks. And I do not think that we should believe those who attribute these events to the fraud of vagabonds.[18] For whatever malicious wanderers might do for the sake of finding some food, we boldly testify to what our eyes have truly seen. Moreover, there is the testimony of truth in support of believing it. In those days there was a merchant of Cologne, who had brought wine in his ship from those parts. Seeing the said Philip, whom he had sometimes seen in the province of Trier, that man recognized him, and he told us what he had later learned of him. From that it appears that what we have written about Philip is most true and the detractors on this matter should not be believed.

[X] OF ANOTHER MAN WHO WAS FREED OF AN IRON RING ON HIS RIGHT ARM

But I also think we should not pass over in silence the case of Glewus, who had been formerly condemned for the injury caused by his crime to be bound with iron fetters, and whom we later saw freed by the merits of Saint William. He was a native of the province of Lincoln and lived in the village of Reepham[19] from an early age, where he had for some time houses and land. And he had a brother, who was younger by birth, but who was more powerful than him, because he was richer. Although he had enough possessions to be sufficient to such a man, he was led by the desire to extend his lands, and he seized a field of his brother [Glewus], which he reckoned he needed, because it was adjacent to his. While the brother [Glewus] frequently raised the issue of that violent injury with his sibling in a fraternal way, and quite mildly, in front of friends and family, [the brother] now insolently and haughtily conceded nothing. Glewus became enflamed with vexation, which was all the greater in that he saw that his brother's malign insolence was entirely irrevocable. Irritated by this and gradually more and more embittered, he soon forgot he was his brother and shook off all feelings of fraternal love. And over that time, as if he were a foreign enemy, he began to turn over in his agitated mind in what manner he could avenge his injury on a vengeful enemy.

And while his mind was disturbed by these thoughts, it happened one day that the usurper brought a plough into the field he had seized and remained there with his two sons. When Glewus heard this, hastily grabbing an iron pitchfork, he went into the field, attacked his brother and nephews and killed them with the fork. This done, Glewus was carried off to court as the perpetrator of so execrable a crime and, accused of fratricide, was condemned to exile. He was inspired by a feeling of penitence and with the agreement of William, Archdeacon of Lincoln,[20] whom he consulted about his guilt, he turned the offending pitchfork into a circle around the fratricidal right arm, and, dressed in a hair shirt, entered an eight-year period of exile from his homeland, and travelled round the shrines of the saints throughout England, seeking mercy.

After three years had passed in such travel, he entered the borders of the diocese of Norwich, reached Bury St Edmunds[21] and entered the church in which the eminent king and martyr Edmund lies at rest, in order to pray and seek pardon. He uttered his prayers with tears, hands raised high for a while in the presence of the holy martyr, and suddenly the iron circle snapped, broken by divine power; but I do not know by what secret design of God, although the crack stretched to an

opening the size of a thumb, it still remained so, unmoving, around the arm. And so it was that one end of the broken ring pressed the flesh most tightly, and the other stuck superficially to the skin. And so it happened that it caused more acute pain when it was broken than it had done while it was whole. So acute was the pain of this tight grip that he professed he would have preferred not to have come to St Edmund, rather than taste in this manner the potency of that power.

Subsequently, however, as he himself later told us, he was warned by the blessed Edmund in a vision that he should quickly go over to Norwich and wait there at the tomb of the holy martyr William for absolution from the rest of the divine penance. Encouraged by these words, he immediately hurried to Norwich to Saint William, where for a few days he awaited the desired effect of that promise. And, as he faithfully waited in hope of the promise, on a day when he prayed at the tomb of the blessed William with palms stretched out to heaven, suddenly that iron circle on his right arm broke on the other side, in such a way that it appeared divided in two parts. One of these parts split asunder and was thrown back by some divine power; the other fell in front of him on the pavement. A great crowd was present at this spectacle, and the community of monks also gathered to offer thanks and praises to divine grace. And Bishop William hastened over when he had heard news of so great a power, and, having examined its truth, he led a hymn of praise to the Lord, with the monks and clerics chanting responses to him in turn, with tears of joy.

[XI] COMMENDATION OF THE MIRACLE

It is a pleasure to tarry briefly and proceed, meanwhile, to admire this mighty miracle: ‘God’s wisdom is a great deep.’[22] If someone roams in that deep to investigate or adjudge the case of each and every thing with human reason, it is clear that if it finds no conclusion, it either turns back into itself or wanders into illicit tracks and falls into error. ‘How incomprehensible are his judgements, and how unsearchable his ways!’[23] And so, among the daily miracles of our times, you should not dispute why this one is cured and another is not heard, why he is absolved in this place, but not freed in that, unless you wish to err. Because we know, and hold for certain, that the royal martyr Edmund and the blessed boy and martyr William are truly, greatly meritorious with God, and we know them to have been crowned for His love with the palm of martyrdom. One triumphed in the times of the ancients; the other suffered in the days of our own time. One sustained the law

of Christ, which was being savaged by the pagans; the other endured the Jews, who were repeating, as it were, the death of Christ. The former, indeed, has shone with miraculous signs up until the years of our own time; the latter multiplies his miracles every day.

Nevertheless, in this sign of eminent power which we have just recorded, as this case shows, both equally have worked together for a good result. As we have said, the former broke the circle on one side, and the latter, on the other. And since things are so, I do not assert that the latter is to be preferred over the former, nor do I affirm that the former is not equal to the latter. But let envy not be stirred against us for this reason in anyone, if we compare the blessed martyr William to other saints in the display of miracles, because since saints are not envious of each other in glory, why indeed should we bite into each other for the miracles the saints perform? I single out one in particular, but I speak of every one. If indeed our church flourishes thanks to the merits of our holy martyr, why, therefore, should it be thought that this diminishes yours? If yours grows strong in enhancement of praise, does that force ours into disrepute? Let the biting of envy cease, cease, and let us record with a vow in love and praise the mighty wonders of saints, and by recording magnify them.

Whoever you are, when the question strikes your mind, why did the glorious king Edmund, a martyr of such virtue, not release that Philip whom I have mentioned above, or at least did not wholly free Glewus? I answer with confidence that I believe that he could have done it if he had wanted to. But because we have no right to know the causes of a divine secret, do not raise on high the horn of your wisdom, for if you are not inspired by sobriety, you will be refuted as a fool. What, then, I can assert for sure about Glewus I shall put briefly. As we conjecture from the manner of the affair, in this particular miracle the glorious king and martyr Edmund wanted to have the glorious martyr William as his fellow-worker, whom he happens to have as an associate in martyrdom of his own region; and what Edmund had begun, he directed William to complete. Oh, how great is the power and wisdom of God the highest, which so miraculously operate in His saints, that He in them and they through Him are glorified!

[XII] OF A CERTAIN WOMAN, AMAZINGLY BENT, WHO WAS CURED

There was at that time a woman called Matilda, who from the flower of her adolescence was condemned to a painful disability. From that

age, indeed, she was so weak in body that her spine became curved and she herself became bent; her legs grated against each other and her knees knocked against each other. The result was that if at some point she wished to move from one place to another, she supported her feeble limbs with a stick and either made progress by small steps or did not manage to make even a little progress. Peter, the priest of Langham[24] – a village belonging to the bishop – supported her for a long time in his house as an act of charity, fed and clothed her. And whenever she desired to visit holy places in order to recover her health, he had her carried on a horse – crosswise – like a full sack. And when no fruit resulted from the effort, she was carried back in the same state as before.

As the news of the frequent acts of power of Saint William spread widely, she conceived a hope that her health might be restored thanks to him. Full of enthusiasm and confidence, she took up her stick and set out on the road to Norwich. And as she was walking, she enhanced her mobility more from the fervency of her heart than from the physical support of her feet, and, trusting little in her own powers, she put more faith in the support of her stick. And each step was hardly the size of a finger, and between one step and another there was a long delay, and if you had seen her walking, you would not have thought a tortoise any slower.

And so at last it happened that having set out on the twelfth day before Lent, she arrived in Norwich on the fourth week after Easter. As soon as she entered the cathedral church, she felt as if the soles of her feet were being pricked by thorns. She stood in front of the tomb of the glorious martyr and supported her weak limbs with the stick, stretching her palms out in prayer; she poured her whole heart out in God's presence, but pain suddenly interrupted her in the midst of her prayers. With the anguish of pain pressing upon her, she rolled on the ground and beat the ground with her head, shoulders, feet and palms; filling the church with her clamour, she acted in a manner at once astonishing and wretched. Could one, I ask, be so hard-hearted as to stand there looking on and not weep?

Finally, after such great anguished contortions, the heat of her pain eased, as the raging of a turbulent sea grows calm when the fury of a wind is abated. So the woman stood up after a while, and, because she was still weak in her limbs, she dragged herself to the wall enclosing the tomb; and, thrusting with her hands through the lattice of little columns, she finally reached out to the tomb of the blessed martyr which she had longed for. There she offered vows and thanks, and

there she remained a part of the day full of thanks. She then turned to the throng of bystanders and testified with a confident tone to the many great things she had experienced, thanks to the merits of the blessed William. But lest some faithless and unbelieving person might attribute it to a fraud rather than to a miracle, she took an oath not to leave Norwich as long as it took, until her master would come, the aforesaid Peter of Langham, who, by being witness to its truth, would demolish the gossips' charge that it was false. And so it happened that she waited for Peter's arrival, and when he came he gave witness to the truth.

[XIII] OF A BENT AND HUNCHBACK BOY WHO WAS CURED

There was also in the village called Wortham[25] a man called Godric who had a ten-year-old son, born of the niece of a certain Robert of Wales;[26] he was condemned to a long illness, and from day to day the strength of the illness grew worse. The illness spread through his limbs, the muscles withered and contracted, his spine was curved and he grew hunchbacked. Thus, from being straight, the little boy became bent, and when he set out to walk his stomach stuck to his knees, and he put his palms on his knees or on the ground, and he had one or the other as support. The doctors who were approached tried in vain and his parents could only grieve; belatedly, they pinned their hopes on the glorious martyr of God, William. And so the boy was carried to Norwich in a handcart and was laid down near the tomb of the oft-mentioned martyr. The father broke down in tears and bargained for the joys of health for his son.

What a wonderful thing, much to be admired in our times! At the very hour of his arrival a healing power spread through the weak places and speedy health restored his former strength. The dryness received sap and the sinews resumed their functions. And as the sinews stretched themselves, the boy was affected by terrible pains and, anguished by them, he cried in English: 'Father! Father!' And as the father saw the son cured, he rejoiced. After a little while the boy got up and, in the view of all, health was restored to the boy, and the son to his father. Truly, the father rejoiced with the son, and the son walked with his father happy and upright, he who had arrived sad and bent.

But after they had passed three days in Norwich, father and son returned home, and after a few days – I do not know due to what misfortune – the weakness of the previous illness returned. The father

consulted his friends about it and brought his weak son back to the most pious martyr, so that his most merciful pity be conferred again and the cure of the boy's disease be repeated. Oh how benign is the grace of divine power! Oh how pious is the generous kindness of the most pious martyr, William! The boy was brought back as he had been before, and now once again he was returned to health and again the great works of God were glorified in him. And for that reason the father, having had wise counsel, allowed his son to stay there for many days, so that he could be a servant to the boy martyr with his youthful services. He had deduced from what had happened earlier that the holy martyr wanted the continuing presence of the boy to be proof of his great power in healing the boy.

[XIV] OF A WOMAN WHO HAD SWOLLEN UP AMAZINGLY AND WAS CURED

Wonders follow upon wonders: if I were to record them all as they happened I fear that my prolixity would cause the reader fatigue or the book might exceed its moderate size. Therefore, abandoning the forest of numbers, I move on to open country, pluck a very few flower buds, with which the eyes of your mind may be softened and which your love may be enticed to accept.

And so there was a woman of Brandney[27] by the name of Wimarc, who, during the reign of King Stephen, when the times were bad, was a hostage for her husband, who had been caught by robbers at Gainsborough.[28] In place of her husband she was put as a prisoner in jail with three other women and a man, and she was under custody in prison for a long time.[29] After they had all suffered together for a long time cold, hunger, stench and many unpleasant incursions of toads, they began to plan by mutual consent the death of their guard, thinking that his death spelt their liberation, and his life, danger.

The same master and warden of the prison used to have a drink with them, and so when a draft of beer was brought to them as usual they infused it with the venom of toads – of which, as we have said, there was great number – and invited him to drink, offering him both cup and death in one. But he was either destined to be saved by God's wish or inspired by some suspicion, and he told them to drink down first themselves what they had offered to him. At that the fraud was already almost discovered and they were confused; they blushed, turned pale in terror and were struck rigid with amazement. Seeing this, the warden perceived that those signs indicated that some mischief was planned, when he saw proof in such evident confusion in

those detained. And so he turned that very shameful deed upon them in this way and forced them all to drink as one of that drink. Whether they wanted to or not, they were forced to be the agents of their own death, those who had been plotting the death of another. Without delay, as the venom passed through their bodies, limb by limb, they all equally, amazingly and in a miserable manner swelled up so much that had you seen them, you would have not doubted that their skin would immediately burst.

What need to say more? The poison spread and took possession of all parts, and when it prevailed life hovered at death's door. The others died; Wimarc alone survived. Those who were dead were taken away and she was sent out, too, since it was believed that she was about to die. Her life was saved, either because she drank less than the others or because divine mercy was disposed to save her. In any case, she was fortunate, since she evaded imminent death, but she was also in misery, since she did not lose that exceptional swelling for seven years. All her limbs were swollen beyond what could be believed, so that seeing her shape you would not believe it to be human but the figure of some exceptional new monster. To those who saw her, her body was a monstrous and terrifying spectacle. And if you saw her, indeed, you would wonder that skin so stretched did not burst.

The poor woman was in such a state of anguish that when she saw that the deformity of so great a swelling was to persevere, she went to doctors and spent on them whatever she could afford. In consulting the skill of the doctors she wasted her efforts and funds; but when she sought a saving refuge in divine pity thereafter, she earned a cure. For when she discovered herself to be destitute and deceived by the doctors, she decided to seek the help of the saints and to visit their shrines.

When she had travelled for a long time, she arrived in Norwich and decided to stay there a while and await divine mercy earned by the prayers of the holy martyr William. When she had already passed many days there, on a certain feast day when a great crowd of people gathered in front of the tomb of the blessed martyr and she was among that crowd, walking out of the crowd she approached the holy and venerable tomb and received the speedy remedy of a cure. For just as she bent her knees and with a short prayer pressed her lips to the tomb, she vomited onto the pavement all of that poisonous, bloody matter. And what she vomited was such – what else can I say, but that it was horrible and unbearable to look at? So great was the quantity that it could fill the contents of a very large jar. Immediately

a most revolting and intolerable smell followed, which so offended the noses of those present that it forced them to leave the place. Therefore, the sacrists had the holy place cleansed of that filth and strewn with fragrant herbs. The poor woman hastened out of the church and vomited all that remained within her. Thus, this whole wondrous event happened within the space of an hour, so that she who before – as we have told – was unbelievably swollen, suddenly appeared graceful and healthy once she had poured out the bloody matter, as if she had never suffered any evil swelling. When she was cured she thanked God and Saint William, and travelled to Rome, where she told Pope Adrian[30] what had happened to her. Returning from there healthy, she remained for a long time in this life, proof of the miracle.

[XV] OF ANOTHER WOMAN WITH A GOITRE, WHO WAS CURED

And there was another woman by the name of Gillilda, the wife of a certain Thurgar of Mildenhall,[31] who had endured a goitre in the neck for a long time and suffered miserably from that condition. The suffering of that pain pressed upon her, indeed, and her face as well as her chin swelled up. And she was suffering both from the dire swelling and from the strength of the pain, and the trouble was made worse because the condition endured for two years. The pain was bitter and unremitting, and, added to that, between the torment of her sighs she could hardly ever catch any sleep. And after such great and lengthy sufferings, having consulted her family members, she vowed herself to God's glorious martyr William and had a candle made in his name and honour, and put it around her neck and the other swollen parts.

An amazing thing! The moment the candle touched the swollen neck, the skin burst in several places and the bloody matter which had already hardened there began to ooze out. And that flow did not cease until the woman herself was free from both the swelling and the pain. Cured at last, she took to the road with her husband and came to Norwich, paid her vow, thanked her liberator and returned home full of gratitude with her companions.

[XVI] OF A MAN WHO WAS SWOLLEN BY THE BREATH OF A SERPENT AND WAS CURED

Another story which we judge it unfitting to hide away in silence is that told by two priests, Geoffrey of St Christopher and Ralph, son of the late Harvey the Baker,[32] and which we know was also attested by

many others. There was a certain man of Blythburgh,[33] known to the aforementioned priests, who lived in the country, rich and plentifully supplied with the necessities of life. During the month of August, while he was standing in his fields behind his reapers, a serpent of amazing and unusual size, hissing with the most horrible hisses, unexpectedly raised its head high, lunged towards him and struck him. He was first stunned and terrified by so sudden an attack; later, regaining himself, he grabbed a stake from a nearby hedge, rose against the serpent and hit it with all his strength. The serpent was badly affected, but lifted up something like the half of his body and launched against its attacker another fierce onslaught. But it was driven back with the stake and repulsed. And then a sulphurous vapour shot out of its mouth against the enemy facing it, together with a terrible hiss, and it infected him suddenly with a poisonous breath. Then the man, wild with mounting anger, attacked it even more bitterly, redoubled his numerous strokes[34] and killed the mother, together with two young ones it had in its stomach, and as a mark of triumph fixed the serpent to the stake.

Then, returning to the reapers, he was hardly recognized by them, because the transformation had already occurred, with his body inflated, as it were, swollen and blackened. Without delay, his limbs were seized with terrible pain, each limb weakened and his life seemed to be in danger of death. What more? He was carried home in the hands of the reapers and lay for three days making no sound, so that he was thought to be dead. At last, on the third day, he breathed as if he were reviving, opened his suffering eyes and turned them to the friends standing around him, saying: ‘Behold, I am dying, unless divine mercy helps me soon. So now I hand myself over to the protection of the glorious martyr William, by whose merits, indeed, I believe and trust that I can be cured. And so, quickly let the length and breadth of my body be measured by a thread, and a candle be made of its length in his name, and when health has been restored, I myself shall convey it to him on foot.’ Having said this, immediately all was done according to his disposition. The speed of his cure is marvellous to relate – and in very fact astounding. During the time that it took to start measuring him and making the candle, the whole swelling disappeared, totally emptied. And what is more – you will find this even more amazing – it was done so that not a trace of the swelling appeared on him, as if he had previously suffered no discomfort. And joyful with so speedy a gift of divine pity, he got up and hurried to his glorious liberator, the martyr William. When he

arrived he paid the price of his vow, and when that was paid, he returned happy to his own home.

[XVII] OF A MAIDEN WHOSE BREAST WAS MIRACULOUSLY CURED

Also at that time a certain maiden by the name of Matilda of Swafield,[35] whose father was called Rathe, suffered from an intolerable pain and swelling in her right breast. To make things worse, a great deal of bloody matter flowed constantly from nine apertures in the breast. She was gripped for a long period of time by this grave illness and spent a great deal on doctors, who profited her not at all,[36] so she renounced human and embraced divine medicine. And so she took a large piece of wax and vowed it to Saint William, and she spread it round the suffering breast.

This done, an amazing thing happened. As we have learned from the account of her father, the pain abated the moment the wax was removed from the breast; calm followed, the swelling totally subsided and the bloody matter oozing out of the apertures – which were gradually drying up – began to diminish. Her parents were delighted at so speedy a gift to their daughter and immediately led her to Norwich to Saint William. And when she arrived her thanks poured out in prayer and she offered the wax candle. She bared her breast and laid it on the tomb, so that – since there was still a little fluid oozing out of the openings and she was very afraid – it might be made safe henceforth with the help of the blessed martyr. Hope, in particular, had urged her to do so, and faith had instructed her; and so she deserved to obtain speedily that which she hoped for and believed with much assurance of mind. For when she put the breast to the stone, at that very moment the openings in it dried up and closed. And so, having been restored to full health, as she had wished, she returned, rejoicing, to her home.

[XVIII] OF SOME PEOPLE SAVED AT SEA AND OF A TEMPEST WHICH WAS QUELLED

The Lord who rules the sky, sea and land, in the same manner that He has glorified with many varied miracles on land the martyr William of eminent excellence – crowned with a privilege of special dignity in heaven – so He also willed to magnify him on the sea. For some people of the province of Norfolk, together with a certain priest of Aylsham,[37] Ralph by name, were returning home after having completed their business in a ship that had taken them on a journey to

the most distant parts of England, when in mid-journey a most savage tempest suddenly arose. As the fury of the winds grew worse, the struggling sail tore, the sailyards and the ropes snapped, the fragile boat scarcely withstood the violence of the ocean and the efforts of the sailors failed. The dark night cut off the light of the sun and at the threat of death all grew pale. A universal cry was raised and sighs were uttered up to heaven. That sweet name of the blessed martyr William was repeated hundreds and thousands of times and in that crisis his urgent protection was sought. Already the ship was being supported by prayer, not by human strength; prayer and the merits of Saint William were raised to counter the raging wind. They made vows, so that if they were so saved by his help they would recompense him for so great a favour for years to come with an annual tribute.

Divine pity was won over by these vows and at once the evident power of the martyr-advocate was manifest, which, even if not present in body, yet was not lacking in effect. For the raging of the winds calmed down, the violence of the sea was subdued and serene tranquillity followed. The spirits of the sailors were revived and the things that were broken and torn were mended. Contrary winds veered round to serve the boat's course and a friendly swell helped the ship forward. Having travelled large tracts of sea in a short while, all equally 'gladly take possession of the welcoming sound of the seashore'.[38] They landed, unharmed and happy, and immediately hastened to Norwich with gifts and offerings to the blessed martyr William, whose prayers had liberated them from the verge of death.

[XIX] OF TWO MEN BOUND IN IRONS AND LIBERATED

At about the same time, one Godwin, called 'Creme', of Wymondham,[39] together with his brother, seized a certain Robert of Charlton[40] for some reason and put him under close guard, bound with foot irons. And these were fastened by an iron chain most firmly secured to posts. The wretch had his hands tied behind his back day and night, and lay in that manner, fixed to the post, and guards watched over him with the greatest care, two by two, during the night hours. He was accused of the guilt of many crimes, but as we learned later he was pure and blameless of them. When in this manner he was held in such cruel and unmerited constraint for quite a few days and had grown weak, owing to the punitive suffering of hunger and thirst, by chance it occurred to him to seek the prayers of the blessed martyr William, by which he might be liberated from his present painful

constraint. And so that whole day and up to the middle of the night he persisted in such prayers; and, when all in the house were overcome by fatigue and sleep, and he himself also began to fall asleep, the same martyr William whom he had invoked, appeared to him in a vision. He passed his hand over the foot irons and the other chains, broke the tight lock and the iron bolts burst asunder. The power of divine pity unlocked what the malice of human cruelty had bound together. This seen – and truly having occurred – he who made it happen appeared to add: 'Rise, brother, rise in haste. I am he whose help you have requested, whom you have chosen as your patron above all others. See, you are now free, hasten quickly away and, casting off the irons in which you had been held, do not delay to bring them to me at Norwich.'

At that he [Robert] woke up and, reflecting on his vision, felt he was truly free, and determined to take flight from there straight away. Since he found that everyone was asleep,[41] he now felt more secure, cast off the foot irons, opened the doors without a sound and departed as quickly as he could. He took the road to Norwich and arrived there at the moment of dawn, and when the cathedral doors were opened he entered and ran to the tomb of the blessed William. And holding the foot irons in which he had been held, in the sight of many he offered them to his liberator as a sign of his liberation. And when he was asked, he told those enquiring the whole story in order, and when he had been offered protection, he went away feeling free of care.

[XX] OF ANOTHER

Some time later, one Hugh, whose lord Simon de Nodariis[42] oppressed him in foot irons and imposed upon him a variety of punishments, was liberated by the merits of the blessed William in a similar way. Having been freed, he came to Norwich, carrying the irons in whose shackles he had been bound, and placed them on the tomb of his liberator, and left them there as a sign and memory of the event.

[XXI] OF THE FALCON OF ALBERT GRESLEY, WHICH WAS MIRACULOUSLY CURED

Among so many and such outstandingly powerful miracles, divine virtue sometimes excels even in the smallest of things. For there was once a certain Albert, son of the illustrious man Robert Gresley;[43] and the boy had a falcon,[44] which he always loved with great affection. And one day it happened that that bird fell mortally ill and the boy

sorrowed so much in its misfortune as if it were his own. And when the bird seemed already to be at death's door, the boy turned to the aid of the blessed boy and martyr William, praying that by his mercy the dying falcon might be restored to health and life. And he made a vow that if the beloved bird were restored, he would come to him [William] in recognition every year with an offering. The father and the other knights who were present laughed at the childishness of the boy's request, because they knew that without doubt the bird would soon be dead, and so they considered it ridiculous to pray or make vows to the saints for such trifling matters.

But it so happened that, contrary to the opinion of all, while the boy was praying with tears and sighs, the bird recovered and after a short while appeared to be healthy and unharmed. Seeing this, everyone was greatly amazed; they glorified God, truly wondrous in His saints, and admired and praised God's holy martyr William, who had compassion and showed care even for such small matters. And later we saw the boy with his father come to Norwich in order to pay their vow, and we found out what had happened from their own account of it. And when we heard it, we blessed in glorifying and glorified in blessing the glorious and so pious martyr, and also, in the martyr, the Lord, who crowns all martyrs, who, as creator and governor of all things, though He is great in great things, nonetheless does not disdain sometimes to work such wonders in the smallest things.

Here ends the sixth book.

Book Seven

The chapters of the seventh book begin.[1] [i] Of Reimbert, steward of the Abbot of Battle Abbey and his miller, both cured of illness. [ii] Of a young paralytic who was cured. [iii] Of an insane clerk returned to sanity. [iv] Of a woman suffering from a long-standing illness who was cured. [v] Of a little boy cured by his father's vow alone. [vi] Of a woman twice cured miraculously from an illness of a cancerous tumour. [vii] Of a miraculous sign on a lump of wax which was divided into three. [viii] Of a gathering of a multitude of sick people who were cured. [ix] Of a boy who was blind, deaf, mute and totally weak in body since birth, who was cured in a trice. [x] Of the cure of Robert, who was bent. [xi] Of another person weak in his whole body, who was cured. [xii] Of a woman who was bent and then erect. [xiii] Of a certain evil man who was castigated by a vision.

Here begins the prologue to the seventh book.

PROLOGUE

Some time later, when I thought that the power of the most blessed martyr in signs of miracles had now ceased, I had put down the writer's weapons and, exhausted by the great effort of writing, savoured a measure of much desired rest. But it so happened that I rushed yet again into a maze of work. For suddenly, unexpected by us, in the year AD 1155 the power of the holy martyr – as if renewed – shone forth with an abundance of signs greater than before. And so, taking up the pen again, I gladly resume the work that had been left aside. Because, on the one hand, a multiplicity of miracles is taking place, and on the other, the need of my daily affairs is pressing; being exposed in the middle ground, I must execute them in such a way that I do not neglect the one while I expedite the other, and conduct myself in such a way that I do not leave one undone or the other overlooked. And the miracles of the most blessed martyr which we have happened to see or hear from reliable persons, we have purposefully taken care to touch on briefly, so that he who wishes to know about them can find out and would not be exhausted by a great number crowded together. If it so happens that sometimes they are explained at greater length, because they cannot be explained in brief, we will still not exceed the rule of moderation,[2] lest we appear to incur the charge of breaking our promise.

Here ends the prologue.
Here begins the seventh book.

[I] OF REIMBERT THE STEWARD OF THE ABBOT OF BATTLE

There was at that time in the province of Hastings a certain knight called Reimbert,[3] who was steward to the Abbot of St Martin of Battle. At some point he had suffered a serious illness and, as the illness worsened, he lost his ability to speak as well as his sight. As the persistent illness was not alleviated by any kind of medicine, but from day to day the vehemence of the pain and illness increased, on the advice of his relatives he sought for himself the haven of divine mercy. Since he was in a dangerous crisis, with his friends standing by, he recalled to mind the most blessed martyr William, whose tomb he had sometimes seen in Norwich, and setting him before his mind's eye, with the speech of which he was still capable, he invoked his aid.

Without delay, his mind's pious contrition knocked on heaven's door and earned the remedy of divine pity, and at that very moment he regained his lost health. And a few days later, while visiting his miller, who had fallen mortally ill, he recounted how he had been cured by the intercession of the blessed William and encouraged the sick man by his example to hope and have faith. Admonished by such faithful warnings, he [the miller] soon uttered his prayer and vow to the blessed martyr in God's presence and immediately felt the remedy of health. We know this from the account of Reimbert himself, when he later came to Norwich to visit the blessed martyr and pray before him, and he offered double thanks – for himself and for his miller.

[II] OF A PARALYSED PERSON WHO WAS CURED

At another time a certain youngster called Schet, born in the village of Haddiscoe[4] to a father called Eilmer – but who lived in Yarmouth for a while in order to earn his living as a fisherman – suffered for many days from a paralytic complaint. When he had been finally led to Norwich to the tomb of the blessed William the martyr, on the very day of his arrival, thanks to the merits of the holy martyr, the chain of his tongue was loosened, speech was restored to him and health returned to his weak limbs; he felt healed and was delighted to return home in good health.

[III] OF AN INSANE CLERK WHO WAS CURED

We have seen that a certain clerk, Robert, son of William of Crachesford,[5] suffering from insanity of a troubled mind, was carried to the tomb of the blessed martyr by the hands of many people. When he had passed the night there quite calmly with his family, at dawn he began to sleep, weighed down by fatigue, and around the third hour he woke up, and he felt both the madness of his head and the pain in his limbs to have been abated. And so his people, full of joy, gave thanks to the holy martyr for his health, and those who were present praised such a great and speedy miracle, because he who had arrived insane was seen to go away sane.

[IV] OF A WOMAN CURED OF A LONG-STANDING DISEASE

In those days a certain Leva, the sister of Roger de Scales,[6] was unwell in her whole body and suffered from a long-standing pain in her limbs; she came to the tomb of the blessed martyr and there recovered her health entirely.

[V] OF A BOY CURED BY HIS FATHER'S VOW

Also a certain William of Thornage,[7] an episcopal village, had a little son who suffered from a long-standing disease and was already close to death. William made a vow for his health to the holy martyr William and soon obtained the remedy of health for his son by his prayers.

[VI] OF A WOMAN WHO WAS TWICE CURED OF THE SICKNESS OF CANCER

In that same episcopal village [Thornage] there was a woman, whose name escapes me, who suffered badly in her breast. Indeed, much bloody matter flowed out of it and her breast was eaten up by the disease they call cancer.[8] When she had suffered from this illness for a long time, and was helped not at all by the efforts of doctors, already despairing of human medicine she finally turned to divine medicine. So she took some wax and softened it at the fire and in the name of the holy martyr William she passed it around the sick breast, and, leaving it there for a while, she poured out with tears her prayer and vows to the martyr.

What a wonder! For immediately the pain receded, the irritation of the creeping disease was calmed and the flow of bloody matter ceased. And when she delayed from day to day the presentation of the wax to Saint William at Norwich, as she had vowed, the disease recurred, re-

entered her breast and afflicted her with pain worse than before. From this we deduce that the blessed martyr desired that she should make amends for the sin of breaking her vow by a punishment, and that the neglectful woman be reminded to pay her vow by suffering recurrent pain. And so the woman, recognizing the guilt of her faithlessness, took up the wax, put it around her breast and in a short while received her lost health. For the rest, from then on and in future, paying heed for herself, she hurried to Norwich, offered the wax at the tomb of the holy martyr, paid her vow and returned home full of joyful thanks.

[VII] OF A MIRACULOUS SIGN IN WAX

Another woman, from Belaugh,[9] on a certain day, with pious intent, divided the wax she had into parts. The largest part she vowed to offer to the Holy Trinity and the two smaller ones, one to Saint William and the other to Saint Faith.[10] But meanwhile, until that time when an opportunity to go there arose, she put the three pieces in a casket. When the feast of Saint Faith [6 October] approached – because she had proposed to offer each at its place – she took up one of the smaller ones, which she thought to be Saint Faith's, so as to make a candle out of it, but immediately as she began to cut it with a knife it appeared as if it were gushing drops of blood. Truly astounded by the portent, she put it down and willingly took up the second piece, so as to make of it a candle for Saint Faith. She did this at the same time with the other wayward piece and made it in the name of the Holy Trinity, and she audaciously presumed to make the third in the name of Saint William. Working with the same intention, when she pressed the knife freely into the wax that had previously bled, not a single sign of that bloody redness appeared. Astonished by the miracle, she announced to everyone she knew the greatness of the holy martyr William. And we, when we found it out from the account of her neighbours, were informed, as it were, from the outcome, that the holy martyr did not want what had been vowed to him to be offered to another. And so, indeed, the great power of the blessed martyr excelled yet again in very small things.

[VIII] OF A CROWD OF SUFFERERS WHICH WAS CURED

Divine mercy frequently helps many others through the merits of the most blessed martyr William. For sufferers of fevers were in the habit of coming to his tomb in order to be freed there. Quite a few also

came who had been suffering for a long time from pain in their bowels and limbs, and returned to their homes healthy and unharmed. And we have most frequently seen lame, blind, deaf and mute people come there, and many others suffering from various illnesses – and we know that many of them have been restored to health. There were especially numerous people, both from faraway regions and from close by, who were suffering from various diseases, but who could not come – owing to their domestic obligations or some other notable cause – who even in their absence were restored to full health by the merits of the holy martyr William; we have heard of many and have seen quite a few.

[IX] OF A BOY WHO WAS BLIND, DEAF, DUMB AND WEAK IN HIS WHOLE BODY FROM BIRTH, WHO WAS CURED

In the year AD 1156, during Pentecost week [the week beginning 3 June], divine power was observed around the tomb of His glorious martyr even more frequently than usual. For then it happened that many of both sexes, debilitated by various illnesses, obtained the remedy of health. Some of these we have decided to pass over in order to avoid excessive length, and some, of which we are surer, we have decided to put down on this page. And so a certain woman of Repps[11] brought her son, who was from birth blind, deaf, mute, weak throughout his body and disabled in his limbs, to the cure-giving tomb of the glorious martyr; and on the day she came she took him back home – full of thanks – healthy and unharmed in all his limbs.

[X] OF THE CURE OF ROBERT THE BENT

That same week, when the community of monks observed nightly vigils of the Holy Trinity [vigils on 9 June] before the tomb of the holy martyr by night, a certain boy, who was bent since his earliest youth, appeared to have been made upright by the working of divine grace through the merits of the holy martyr. He had lived in Norwich for many years, supporting himself by his knees and moving with crutches held in his hands, and he had begged from many people throughout the town. Since his muscles were shrunken, his knees shrivelled and his shins were dried out, the power of movement was denied him. On him, as we have said before, the pious virtue of the martyr conferred the remedy of health.

[XI] OF ANOTHER WEAK PERSON WHO WAS CURED

Around that time a certain Thomas of York also came, a man feeble

and disabled in his whole body, who guided his progress with two staffs, known commonly as crutches, sustaining his weak body. He set off from York as best he could to go to the holy martyr William to receive the grace of health, and, making little progress, his lengthy journey took up many days. Faith supported the weak traveller and hope drew on the disabled one. Being led by them, he finally came to the tomb of the holy martyr in Norwich, obtained the remedy of desired health and, as a sign, he left his crutches there.

[XII] OF A BENT WOMAN WHO WAS MADE UPRIGHT

We also saw a poor bent little woman who hailed from the province of Lindsey.[12] She stayed for many days in Norwich in the house of the smith Chole, and no one testified to having seen her in any way but bent. When she came to the blessed martyr's tomb, the martyr conferred remedy on her, too.

[XIII] OF A CERTAIN MAN OF EVIL SPEECH WHO WAS MIRACULOUSLY CHASTISED BY A VISION

But I judge that I cannot pass over in silence that which would instruct the simple and well-meaning towards the increase of devotion, and warn the wicked to watch out; so that the former grow in piety and the latter see the error of their habit of depravity. There was a certain man called Walter, at one time the servant of William, our Dean of Norwich,[13] who – inspired by wilful foolishness – always detracted whenever he could from the sanctity and miracles of the blessed martyr William. And though he was often admonished by his master, whom I have mentioned, that he should desist at least sometimes from his blasphemous behaviour, he was never inclined to accept the advice of the master admonishing him.

On a certain night, as he was asleep, the same martyr William appeared to him in a terrifying shape and asked him, saying: 'Do you know me, brother?' When he said he did recognize him, he added: 'And if you know me, why do you denigrate me with such blasphemies? Rise up now and follow me.' Immediately he rose, as it appeared to him by the vision, and he followed him on a road to a forest. And when they arrived at the place where William had first been buried, standing upon the edge of his place of burial, he said to him: 'Do you know whose grave this was?' When Walter said it had been his, William retorted with terrible warnings: 'Then get in at once, you who have always been uttering blasphemies against me.' Walter

was terrified and did not dare to go against the word of the saint commanding him, and, as it appeared to him, he entered the grave. As he entered, without delay the saint entered, too, and cudgelled him and at last left him broken in all his limbs. And so the sleeping Walter woke up in terror; and he felt the most violent pain in all his limbs, as if he had endured when awake the beating he had seen in the vision. Shaken by this punishment, from then on he began to venerate and love from the bottom of his heart him whom before he was in the habit of disparaging most despicably.

And we have written this down here as a general warning to us all that – as this example instructs us – each and every one should take care not to be ungratefully disparaging of divine favours. It is indeed imprudent to inveigh so boldly with evil words against God's saints, those who so clearly are glorified by the Lord Himself with so many and such great miracles.

[XIV]

There was in Norwich an eight-year-old girl named Agnes, whose father was called Bondo Hoc,[14] and her mother Gunnilda. From the time of her birth she suffered badly from the illness of podagra[15] in foot and hand. She could not raise herself by her own strength or even turn from one side to another without the support of a helper. And also the muscles in her neck were weakened, and, to makes things worse, her left cheek stuck to the left shoulder so inseparably that you would see them embedded each in the other, and when the shoulder was bent the neck itself could in no way bend in any [other] direction. There was a great deal of discomfort in walking with gouty feet, in touching with twisted hands, and the head attached to the shoulder impeded a normal ability to see, rise, turn and eat. So whenever she needed to eat, the food was crumbled on the ground or on a board, and, lying on the ground, she ate like a beast; and she could only eat what her tongue and teeth managed to reach. And so, weak and helpless in her whole body, she was turned [in bed], raised up and carried around by the hands of others. And so, in the hour of matins on the second Sunday in Lent she was taken in her mother's arms to the tomb of the holy martyr William, and before all the people who had gathered in that church on that feast day she suddenly obtained the remedy of health by the intervening merits of the holy martyr. And, following this, we ought to consider how great and how merciful is the power of saints, that those weak in their whole body on arrival

are sent away healthy.

[XV]

Around that time a certain Hathewis, daughter of Edwin, the priest of Taverham,[16] whose grandmother had been sister to William's grandmother, was bent and weak in body. And we think it was mostly thanks to that feeling of kinship that she came to the tomb of the holy martyr William, as if to a family refuge, and, in a trice, received the deserved remedy of health.

[XVI]

In those days Hugelina of Rockland,[17] whose feet were stuck to her buttocks due to a defect of nature, was conveyed by her father in a wheeled vehicle – called a *civeria*[18] – to the tomb of the holy martyr. On that day a certain boy, Baldwin from the province of Lincoln, whose sinews from the knees down to the calves and feet had dried out, and who was denied the power of movement, was also conveyed to Norwich similarly in a litter. But when need forced him, he went on his knees, supported by hand-crutches. Both, indeed, were carried to the tomb of the holy martyr at the same time and were restored to full health by the intercession of his merits at the same time, too.

And not many days later a certain boy called Herbert, the son of one Berengar of Norwich, blind and mute from his earliest youth, was led by his parents to the tomb of the blessed martyr; and on that same day of his arrival he returned home seeing and speaking. Also, a certain Ralph, son of Richard of Hadeston,[19] weak in all his limbs, was brought to Norwich by his relatives and was cured thanks to the merits of Saint William.

[XVII]

And while these and other similar miracles took place in Norwich to the praise and glory of the glorious martyr, his power showed itself to be outstanding and glorious also upon the sea. For when the sea was in raging tempest, a ship was in great danger far from shore. Immense waves were sometimes going down to the depths and creating a fearful abyss, and sometimes rising exceptionally high and threatening to overwhelm the fragile boat. And so now it was as if the ship were raised to heaven, and now it was exposed to a fearsome fall. The rage of the winds and the deluge of rain grew fiercer and fiercer, the sky

was stormy, the seas tumultuous and everything threatened destruction. Ropes and sailyards were torn, the sail was cut asunder, the mast only just stayed in its place, the shivering of the ship made it seem clear that only death remained.

And so the captain was desperate and did not know what to do next. But then came an idea. He grabbed the ship's abandoned rudder and turned the prow to the shore, putting aside their planned course, and, persuaded by his colleagues – and especially by a priest from Thetford,[20] who had come with them from Norway[21] – called on the help of the blessed martyr William. They all committed themselves and all their belongings together with the ship to his protection, and so with a straight course they made for the nearest shore.

What more? The holy martyr's help was invoked and suddenly the rage of the winds began to calm. The sky and the sea gradually became serene again. But the ship ran a speedy course, the sea's swell subsided and, not far from the shore, the ship came upon a prominent sandbank and sank into the devouring sand. Almost nowhere was safe. If one avoided danger in the troubled depths of the sea, one incurred it in the shallows. Seeing this, the troubled sailors called out together, and, by then having little trust in the ship, believing indeed that it was shattered, they launched the skiff they had within it, and sought at least to save their bodies. Taking counsel for the safety of their bodies, therefore, they left all their belongings in the ship with the sail still spread, and committed everything to the protection of the holy martyr William, vowing to give him a tenth of all that might be saved of their belongings on it.

The ship was left at a distance, exposed, I say, to the winds and the sea, and the skiff was saved and landed on the shore with the sailors. It was evening and night was already coming, heavy with dark shadows. But what an amazing, almost incredible thing! For the ship which had been exposed all night long to the waves and to the movement of the tide – now pressed into the sand, now raised up – yet was held as if fixed to the shore by the anchor of divine power. As dawn broke they gathered to revisit the ship and were amazed that it had not sunk. So they entered into the skiff and, with the help of the waves of the calm sea, hurried towards the ship; and, finding it safe and whole, they rejoiced in amazement. Without delay, they threw themselves into the common task. The sail was quickly mended, the ropes repaired, and they were ready to sail. The tide and wind lent a hand and they were carried into the port called 'Charelfluot',[22] on a prosperous course. Landing there, they thanked God and Saint William

their saviour; and, as they had vowed, they offered a tithe of all they had in the ship. They transferred to the holy martyr in Norwich the sum collected of the tithes by the hands of the said priest of Thetford and some of his associates, and committed themselves to his protection.

A certain Humphrey of Norwich, when the ship in which he was sailing was endangered and sank in the harbour mouth at Scarborough, in danger of death, called upon the help of the saint William the martyr, and he was the only one of them all calling upon the martyr, so he was alone among all to be saved by divine power and in a miraculous manner, and most wonderfully was brought to shore unharmed, quite against the expectations of them all.

[XVIII]

A mere accumulation of miracles is bound to bring tedium even to eager readers. The number of miracles was growing large, because God's power did not fail in His glorious martyr. Let there be no tedium, therefore, in hearing what Christ offers His believers. Let us make public and include on the present page that miracle of extraordinary nobility which took place in AD 1168 in the Chapel of Saint William in the Wood,[23] and which chanced to be seen by the eyes of many present.

Bishop William [Turbe] of Norwich had dedicated that chapel on the octave of Easter, the fifth calends of May [27 April].[24] After a few days had passed since the dedication, some people from the province of Cambridge came to Saint William. While they had travelled round the holy places of Norwich they finally arrived at the recently dedicated chapel of Saint William in the Wood. When they approached the altar – as pilgrims do – and made offerings, marvellous to tell and even more wonderful to see, a certain woman of their company, wanting to go up the steps with them, was repelled by some invisible force. She approached with even more energy, was repelled even more forcefully and withdrew backwards. Not knowing that she had been repelled by divine intervention, she went up the steps a third and a fourth time, tried to ascend, but felt herself repelled much more violently. And because she was ashamed of being repelled before the eyes of those present, she made attempts to repeat her efforts ever more intently and frequently. What need of many words? The woman was striving, ignorant of divine power, and was avid to repeat her presumption. Finally, realizing that she was toiling

in vain, the sinful woman came to herself and, conscious of her misdeeds, she broke into a lament of tearful complaint, saying: ‘Oh, sad and miserable me! Oh lost and unhappy woman! I am an impure sinner conscious of so many misdeeds. I have grown insolent over so many years, impenitent and without confession. I do not fear God and I do not respect humankind. With what an irreverent brow, what an audacious mind, what a sinful foot and sacrilegious mind have I presumed to come to these holy places!

‘And truly it has happened as I deserve. A witch, shameless and unclean, I have polluted the purity of this holy place by unworthy entry; and, forgetting my sins, I have brought upon myself the avenger of sins. Saint William refuses quite rightly and divine power repels the offering obtained by my filth and in sacrilege of mind and body, since it has deemed my offering unworthy to enter. Woe! Miserable me! Woe, unhappy one![25] What can I do, unfortunate and wretched? Where shall I turn, rejected from on high?’

These words she inserted into the flood of tears; these words she cried out while wringing her hands. She stripped her veil from her head and – now tearing at her hair with her fingers, now scratching her face, now beating her chest and stamping the ground with her feet – she acted in an astonishing and wretched fashion. Thus she acted for a while, and so drew the attention of those present. Then the person standing guard at the altar approached her and asked her why she was behaving so, and why she did not approach the altar with her companions. And having said that, he handed her a candle, so that coming with her light she could receive the reward of access. She said to him: ‘Sir, I am a sinner burdened with sins. I wanted to approach, but could not, and as many times as I tried to approach, I was repelled. A young man of beautiful form rejects me; as often as I approach the steps, he drives and thrusts me away. He is terrible only to my wretched self, while to others he appears to me to be kindly.’

Having said this she went silent and sat down again. And then, as if exhausted by so much pain and suffering, she calmed down a little and fell asleep for a while. Afterwards she woke up and then rose. Having lit the candle we mentioned, she approached the steps as if to go up, but again he who had repelled her before did so again. And because of this she was confused, ashamed and suffering; she burst into tears and the anguish of her heart showed in tears and sobs. Anxiously, she looked around and said: ‘If there is a priest here, I ask that he come. I shall reveal to him the sins I have committed. I shall recount to him [my] shameful crimes. Let someone come, I beg, to

whom I may confess the wickedness of my life, that he may hear the confessions of a penitent; as he hears it, give absolution, and in absolving mete out penance for sins. I believe, and do not doubt, that when I am confessed and absolved by a priest I shall receive the martyr's support and fully merit access to the sacred altar.' And a certain very old priest came, took her aside and enjoined penance upon her when she confessed, and admonished her to have confidence from then on.

What more? She was assured and took the candle out of her bag, relit it and, approaching the steps, she prayed with profuse tears. The compunction of a devout mind furnished tears, and from the fountain of compunction flowed a gushing river of tears, and that river came out into the open and flowed to heaven. The sighs led on to devotion. Her prayer completed, with a timid foot she attempted the ascent. She did not see the vision she had grown used to seeing rejecting her, and so, more confident, she set her foot more assuredly on the steps. Now she did not feel herself repelled, nor saw the one who had pushed her away, and she ascended with a confident foot and light heart and placed the gift of her offering on the altar.

And so, when I admire the quality of this miraculous event, I bring to mind that glorious penitence of the blessed Mary of Egypt.[26] Mary was a sinner of a noble family and finest character, who presumed to dare a sacrilegious entry into the holy places of Jerusalem. This disgraceful trickster, in the likeness of an old woman, entered with shameless foot the chapel of Saint William recently consecrated in the wood in Norwich. Mary had been prevented visibly by the invisible power of the glorious Mother of God from entering the oratory; and this one was manifestly thrust back from her entry to the altar by the manifest power of the glorious martyr William. In both cases there was confusion of shame and suffering, but compunction followed confusion, and compunction was followed by penance. And truly, penitence washes away with profuse tears the stains of many crimes. And so by the benefit of penitent tears the former entered the oratory and the latter deserved access to the sacred altar.

And this also shows how greatly revered this place should be, which had been consecrated by a bishop of great authority and religious devotion, marked off as the first burial place of the holy martyr William. There divine power frequently worked many and diverse miracles. For in proof of the place's sanctity there are both the correction by beating in his sleep of Walter, once the servant of William of Hastings,[27] and the cure of Batilda,[28] once the wife of

Gerard the Cook, and also the repelling of the little woman trickster, which we have just described. But the sanctity of the place is commended above all by that outstanding miracle – the miracle of miracles, so to speak – which once occurred in the province of Worcester, and which a monk of Pershore, called Christian, has committed to writing,[29] a man indeed strong in religion and learning, who sent it to us in Norwich in these words:

'To the holy convent of Norwich, which is strenuous in its service of God, brother Christian, the least of the brothers of Pershore, sinner in life, monk only in habit and name, [sends] peace in the present life and blessedness in the next. Divine mercy has deigned to reveal even to us, far away from you by a long distance, with how much joy He has shone upon you before all others in the region, even in the whole world, in our time, I say, and has corroborated it with a wonderful proof. There is then a man in our parts, known by name, of great fame, from a distinguished family, blessed in his progeny, named Adam of Crombe.[30] And his neighbours described him as blessed in many ways, especially fortunate in having progeny of both sexes. And these offspring were devout monks, strong knights, most beautiful youths, and daughters – or better still, virgins – of beauty and modesty incomparable in the province. In their faces it was easy to recognize royal descent and in their manners the pious severity of the father and the modest discipline of the mother. The youngest of these in birth was called Agnes, and for a long time she had been vexed by sickness and spent a long time in bed, until she was reduced by the wretched sickness to despair of her life. Wretched, I say, because she was oppressed many times a day by severe pain, throwing her arms about, rolling her eyes, utterly feeble, tossing and turning. And those who were present saw nothing save that she was breathing. On one occasion her sisters, moved by pity and affected by the sight of her pain, were present with the chaplain and the family to witness the end; then, with her arms relaxed, body composed, her eyes gently closed and even the pain abated, she began to speak as if she had met with someone worthy of veneration, answering him with great care – except that, since they were not found worthy to see and hear his name, they would have believed her to be disturbed by a nightmare, but for the great solemnity of her expression and the seriousness of the words. When they had borne this for a while, finally, those of greater wisdom began to ask her with determination what she was looking at, whom she was meeting, to whom she was replying with such evident reverence. She said to them: "I see a most beautiful

youth, bleeding, bearing a cross." When they pressed her to go on, she continued. "I follow," she said, "and I shall follow earnestly and obey carefully. But he enters a wood. Now, passing through a part of the wood; he now enters a wooden chapel situated there. Now he dresses in priestly vestments so as to celebrate Mass. But woe! Miserable me! I fear for my sex. Although there is no one to assist, I do not presume to act as a server. But behold, here is someone more worthy and holier than me who enters, and much more suitable for sacred things, and I hear he is called Robert."[31] After this she kept quiet for a while and listened most intently; and, after a while, taking a deep breath, in a quiet but very prayerful voice, she responded: *Misereatur vestri*, etc., and *Confiteor deo*[32] and the rest, which, according to the Church's usage, is said in prayer before the beginning of the Mass in English. After the completion of the things that customarily precede the Gospel when it is being read, she cried out that she was wretched and unhappy, since she had nothing to offer. The saint sensed her devotion and, through the mentioned Robert, sent her a golden coin.[33] Although she received it eagerly, very happy in this gift of the giver, she asked that she might rather be kissing his hand, and he proffered [it]. She also received from his most holy hands – after the peace[34] was given to her – the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, the salvation of all right-believing people.[35] Having enacted all that pertained to the sacrament, according to the ecclesiastical order, taking advantage of the time and place, she timidly and with reverence spoke to God's saint: "My Lord, most worthy of all devotion, holy blessed, dear to God, who are you that I invoke for help in my illness, for solace in my destitution, for support in my misery, for relief of my pains and sorrows?" Then he, as we believe, breathing the divine sweetness which is known to those who dwell in heaven, suffering with her pain, having compassion for the virginal anguish, joyful but with gravity, looked at her with the kindest expression and answered with sweet words, that he is the William whom they call saint. And she threw herself at the feet of the saint: "Saint William," she cried, "have mercy on me who is most wretched of all! Saint William, bring healing to the anguish of all my sufferings. Saint William, look at my infirmities and help with speedy pity!" "You will be cured," he said, "but pay careful attention to the manner of your cure. You will take the material of which the great sacraments are made – that is, holy water – and wash the feet of the crucifix in the name of God the Father almighty, and the Son, who is consubstantial with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, coeternal with the Father and

Son.[36] In it you will crumble morsels of bread and consume it in good faith and without delay and you will acquire health. And that will not only be a remedy for your illness, but also relief to all those ill with whatever illness, if they – as we said – use it while invoking God in good faith. And so that you find a good example in it, you will give some of it to the person suffering a fever who is in torment in the new church at Croome, and he will be cured immediately. Of the medicines which you have used up to now, some harmed and none helped. You should remain humble in virginity, and you should indulge yourself in no way in the foods you eat, keeping moderation in all things. Flee from the world – that is, from worldly things. Adhere to God and to the things which are of God.[37] But lest you go off the road out of ignorance of the places on it, or roam alone in byways, I give you this Robert, as guide and guardian." Having heard this and after a blessing was given, they set out on the way, with speed to shorten it, but with no part of such a journey omitted, and arrived in Croome. And there, once she was placed in safety, she was left by her guide, who took his leave. And, indeed, no part of her journey had been wasted, for she could list very clearly the routes of each day, the names of the places, their types and qualities, taught to her by her guide. And she, who had never been more than seven miles away from her father's house, could not be corrected in word by those who frequently travel the route on foot and horseback. After she had come to herself, she asked that they hurry with what had been ordered, that they prepare them and offer what had been prepared; she ate, she drank and she got well. She instructed that [the remedy] be shared with the said fever-stricken person. When they claimed that there was no such person there, she, on the other hand, proved [there was] by the fact that she had seen him in front of the church when she was returning. And as he drank it, he was restored to his previous health. Let us then beg the solace of so great an intercessor, so that he who had truly followed Christ, truly carrying a cross, would truly and mercifully also reconcile us by his holy merits to Christ, so that as we come out of the bondage of clay, we may be gathered into celestial delight and see the face of the Creator. To Him be the praise, honour and power, for ever and ever. Amen.[38]

'This I have often heard from the virgin herself, from her father, and from the chaplain and other trustworthy people. I have studied it carefully, have checked the truth and have taken care to write it for you as briefly as I could.'

In the realm of the highest city there are many and varied mansions[39] for the citizens, but one and only joy radiates upon all in the vision of its king. And those who in their multiplicity are gathered in the glory of one joy are equally connected by a single harmony of charity. And so I do not wonder that some who I believe to be colleagues in pious merits also equally work together in many miracles; and sometimes it happens that they are participants in a single miracle, even if they are not equal in merits. And so, in AD 1172, a certain Geoffrey, called of Canterbury, suffered from a most fearful toothache. Therefore, encouraged by the advice of his relatives, he had the three molars in the left jaw – which troubled him the most – removed; and that done, thinking little of it, he sat down to a very unhealthy supper. Seeing the most beautiful of peas placed on the table, and the fattest goose with garlic, allured by appetite, he tasted from everything to the fill; he drank new beer, but the taste of this contrary diet soon led to the most awful torment of swelling and pain. The anguish of the pain grew gradually, so that finally his whole head was swollen, so that it no longer looked like a human face, but presented a monstrous appearance of a monstrous animal; and the skin was stretched like a bladder, so that those who looked on were amazed that it did not burst. The tip of his nose was flattened and his eyes were buried in his face. The mouth was shut by swollen lips and he was no longer able to breathe. His relatives put a reed into his mouth, through which to breathe, lest the blocking of his airway choke his breathing.

Why say more? The anguish of the excessive pain persisted, to the point that his friends led him to the glorious tomb of the glorious martyr and archbishop Thomas,[40] where he spent the night and prayed in moans as far as he could for a remedy to his suffering. At last, near dawn, he fell asleep awhile and saw in his dreams that most pious martyr himself, Archbishop Thomas, present with him, and saying: ‘Geoffrey, what do you seek here?’ And he said: ‘Lord, that you should take pity on me and cure my sickness.’ And the saint said to that: ‘Your cure is not here. But so that your coming to me should not be in vain, I give you a piece of advice. Get up and go home, have a candle made in the name of Saint William the martyr of Norwich, and then roll it round your whole head in a circle, and immediately you will receive a cure. Once you are cured, hurry to Norwich, where you will offer the candle to him, your liberator.’ At this the sick man woke up, rose, returned home and rapidly executed the things he had been ordered.

A wondrous thing and truly amazing! When he had rolled the candle round his whole head in the name of Saint William, under his throat, when it came round from the left to its end, the skin – as if pricked by an awl – cracked, and a great deal of bloody matter flowed out of it.[41] What wonderful speed! The swelling immediately subsided, the pain receded and the sick man got better. And so cured, not wanting to delay the business of the pilgrimage enjoined on him, he went to the tomb of Saint Thomas, prayed, took leave and set forth on his way.

When he was some way from Canterbury, however, around the first hour, he passed through the village called Ospringe[42] and, as he was travelling alone, prayed there to the Lord to favour him with a good companion on his pilgrimage. When he proceeded on a bit, and repeated the same prayer more earnestly, suddenly two men of venerable appearance and distinguished habit came upon him. One was resplendent in the whitest of clothes; the other wore the signs of the emblems of kingship. And as they approached, the white one said: 'Greetings, brother, where do you go?' To this Geoffrey answered: 'Welcome, brothers, I go to Norwich.' And he: 'Then we should go together, since we, too, are going to those parts.' While they were walking, Geoffrey was in the middle. And, as he later told us, he was so soothed by their words that he did not feel the effort of walking on the journey or even notice how they had crossed the River Thames.

The same day in the afternoon, at sunset, having achieved such a feat of walking, they arrived at the thorn bush that marks the third mile from Bury St Edmunds. As they stood there, the man in white said to Geoffrey: 'So, brother, do you know where you are?' and when Geoffrey answered that he did not, he said: 'Look, what you see is the tower of the church of St Edmund. Go, then, in peace, and may the Lord be with you. And since this morning you had begged for a good companion, it was done just as you wished. Know then, that I am Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, and this other is the blessed Edmund, king and martyr. We have sent the blessed martyr William ahead to Norwich, and you will find him there.' Having said this, they both suddenly disappeared from Geoffrey's sight.

And so, when he came to himself, the more Geoffrey pondered what a great thing had happened, the more he was puzzled how he had reached there so quickly. While he measured the speed in his mind, he marvelled at the absence of effort. And since there was no effort, no tiredness followed. In the same way, when he remembered the sweetness of their conversation, he was saddened to be deprived of so

holy a company. Giving thanks to God and to His holy martyrs, he straight away hurried to Bury[43] with a quick step, entered the church, worshipped at the martyr's tomb and was directed to the hospice.

When he woke up in the morning, perceiving clearly in himself some remainder of the speed of yesterday's journey, he ran the remaining distance with a swift foot and reached Norwich very quickly. He went to the tomb of the holy martyr William, offered the candle of his vow with three pennies, and thanked God and the same holy martyrs, blessed Thomas and blessed Edmund, for the comfort of their delightful company, and Saint William for the benefit of restored health. Finally, to us, when we sought to find out carefully the reason for his coming, he told us the story in order and showed the mark of the swelling and the pierced skin, and returned in good health to his home county. And when I, Thomas, later came to Canterbury, I saw him hale and healthy, and I learned from many monks and laypeople, who confirmed that what I had heard and seen from him was absolutely true. Since the speed of the mentioned journey was amazing, and seemed well-nigh impossible by human powers, I was thorough and diligent in tracking down the truth. And so, what I had perceived to be true in this matter, I have put down on this page. For very many attested to it in Canterbury, that he had gone on pilgrimage from there on 15 January, and we know for sure that on 16 January he was seen at the tomb of Saint William in Norwich, and – to declare it more plainly – he moved by foot from Canterbury on one day and arrived in Norwich on the next.[44]

Here ends the seventh book.

Here ends the book of the miracles and the life of Saint William the martyr.

Notes

PROLOGUE

1. The prologue is a literary device developed in classical antiquity and frequently used by twelfth-century writers. In works of history and hagiography prologues address the patron to whom the work is dedicated and explain the circumstances of its composition – often in response to insistent requests by fellow monks – while also begging forgiveness for any shortcomings, such as tedious length or inelegant style. See Antonia Gransden, 'Prologues in the Historiography of Twelfth-Century England', in *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), pp. 125–51, and *Les prologues médiévaux,* ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).
2. *William, Bishop of Norwich*: On William Turbe, see Christopher Harper-Bill, 'Bishop William Turbe and the Diocese of Norwich, 1146–1174', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 7 (1985), pp. 142–60, and *English Episcopal Acta VI. Norwich 1070–1214*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.
3. *we*: The author moves regularly between using the first-person singular and the first-person plural.
4. *Rome … Gaul … England*: This may be Thomas's way of suggesting that William was eloquent in Latin, French and English. It suggests an Anglo-Norman outlook, which spanned Europe in its scope.
5. *your loving kindness and your kindly favour*: Such stylistic play, which would be considered tedious in modern usage, is a common feature of twelfth-century Latin writing. In this case, a form of repetition known as *anadiplosis*.
6. *White privets fall, dark hyacinths are culled*: 'alba lingustra cadunt, uaccinia nigra leguntur'. In context: 'Ah, lovely boy, trust not too much to your bloom! *The white privets fall, the dark hyacinths are culled!*', Virgil, *Eclogues* II, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library 63, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), line 18, pp. 32–3.
7. *passion*: *Passio* means suffering in general, but in the medieval context it is used in particular to describe the Crucifixion and the death of martyrs.
8. *Keeping the king's secret … an honourable thing*: See Tobias 12:7: 'For it is good to hide the secret of a king: but honourable to reveal and confess the works of God'; 'etenim sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est; opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri honorificum est.'
9. *what we have seen … generations to come*: Thomas has in mind here 1 John 1:1–4: 'Quod fuit ab initio, quod audivimus, quod vidimus oculis nostris, quod perspeximus, et manus nostrae contrectaverunt de verbo vitae: et vita manifestata est, et vidimus, et testamur, et annuntiamus vobis vitam aeternam,

quae erat apud Patrem, et apparuit nobis: quod vidimus et audivimus, annuntiamus vobis, ut et vos societatem habeatis nobiscum, et societas nostra sit cum Patre, et cum Filio ejus Jesu Christo. Et haec scribimus vobis ut gaudeatis, et gaudium vestrum sit plenum'; 'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon and our hands have handled, of the Word of life: For the life was manifested; and we have seen and do bear witness and declare unto you the life eternal, which was with the Father, and hath appeared to us: that which we have seen and have heard, we declare unto you, that you also may have fellowship with us, and our fellowship may be with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ. And these things we write to you, that you may rejoice and your joy may be full.'

10. *render account for every word*: This echoes Romans 14:12: 'itaque unusquisque nostrum pro se rationem reddet Deo'; 'Therefore every one of us shall render account to God for himself.'
11. *The mouth … the soul*: Wisdom 1:11: 'os autem quod mentitur occidit animam'; 'and the mouth that belieth killeth the soul'.
12. *adulterate the word of God*: See 2 Cor. 2:17: 'non enim sumus sicut plurimi adulterantes verbum Dei', 'For we are not as many, adulterating the word of God'; and 2 Cor. 4:2: 'neque adulterantes verbum Dei', 'nor adulterating the word of God'.
13. *I was not removing errors, but sowing fictions*: 'Errores non auferam sed fictitia seram'; Thomas of Monmouth paraphrases Jerome's prologue to the Book of Job in the *Vetus Latina* version of the Bible, 'corrector vitiorum falsarius vocor, et errores non auferre, sed serere', *Patrologia Latina* 29, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1846), col. 61. See A. Saltman, 'Rabanus Maurus and the Pseudo-Hieronymian *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Libros Regum et Paralipomenon*', *Harvard Theological Review* 66 (1973), pp. 43–75. Many thanks to Dr Hillel Newman for his help in identifying the reference.
14. *Except I shall see I will not believe*: 'nisi uidero non credam'; see John 20:25: 'dixerunt ergo ei alii discipuli vidimus Dominum ille autem dixit eis nisi videro in manibus eius figuram clavorum et mittam digitum meum in locum clavorum et mittam manum meam in latus eius non credam'; 'The other disciples therefore said to him: We have seen the Lord. But he said to them: Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the place of the nails, and put my hand into his side, I will not believe.'
15. *blessed are they … and have believed*: 'beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt'; see John 20:29: 'beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt'; 'blessed are they that have not seen, and have believed.'
16. *and it is the tops … the lightning strikes*: 'feriuntque summos fulgura montes'; Horace, *Carmina* II, X:

> Saepius ventis agitatur ingens
> Pinus, et celsae graviore casu
> Decidunt turres feriuntque summos
> Fulgura montis.
>
> The big pine is more often shaken by the winds:
> The higher a tower, the heavier is the fall thereof,
> And it is the tops of the mountains that the lightning strikes.

Horace was taught in schools predominantly through the *Ars poetica*, an introduction to the art of poetry; see, for example, *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300–1475*, ed. Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 551–8. On the appreciation of Horace in the Middle Ages, see Rita Copeland, 'Horace's *Ars poetica* in the Medieval Classroom and Beyond: The Horizons of Ancient Precept', in *Answerable Style: The Idea of the Literary in Medieval England*, ed. Frank Grady and Andrew Galloway (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2013), pp. 15–33.

17. *Many wish … to learn them*: 'optima queque uideri uolunt obtrectare plerique quam discere.' This does not appear in the corpus of either Pliny the Elder or the Younger, but the transmission of both in the Middle Ages was a messy affair. A more likely source in terms of the vocabulary is Apuleius; Thomas may have picked it up from a collection of *dicta*.
18. *he*: The reader should note that the Latin is often not specific as to gender. This translation uses 'he' as an arbitrary, though common, choice. Similarly, a male reader is indicated throughout, to reflect the assumptions of the period.
19. *gold vessel*: See 2 Tim. 2:20: 'in magna autem domo non solum sunt vasa aurea et argentea sed et lignea et fictilia'; 'But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and earth.' 'urna aurea' also echoes Heb. 9:4: 'aureum habens turibulum et arcam testamenti circumtectam ex omni parte auro in qua urna aurea habens manna et virga Aaron quae fronduerat et tabulae testamenti'; 'Having a golden censer, and the ark of the testament covered about on every part with gold, in which was a golden pot that had manna, and the rod of Aaron, that had blossomed, and the tables of the testament.' See also Propertius, *Elegies*, Book 2, 26B, ll. 49–50: 'iam deus amplexu votum persolvit, at illi / aurea divinas urna profudit aquas'; 'The god redeemed his pledge for that embrace, and the golden urn poured out a celestial stream', *Sex. Propertii Elegiarum liber secundus*, ed. Petrus Johannes Enk (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1962), p. 110.
20. *translation*: The transfer of a holy body to a (more) suitable burial place.

BOOK ONE

1. *The chapters of the first book begin*: In the original manuscript, these chapters are arranged in a list.
2. *Aimar*: See *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, I. 940–1216*, ed. David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and Vera C. M. London, second edn with new material by C. N. L. Brooke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 119, 268–9. St Pancras Priory, the first Cluniac house in England, was founded in 1081 by William of Warenne I and his wife Gundrada; see Freda Anderson, 'St Pancras Priory, Lewes: Its Architectural Development to 1200', in *Anglo-Norman Studies* 119 (1989), pp. 1–35; esp. pp. 1–4. Lewes Priory had substantial holdings in Norfolk, and a major dependent house in Castle Acre (Norfolk), which required management and oversight, as shown in *The Norfolk Portion of the Chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras of Lewes*, ed. J. H. Bullock, Norfolk Record Society 12 ([Norwich]: Norfolk Record Society, 1939).
3. *mother's dream*: On such maternal dreams, see Francesco Lanzoni, 'Il sogno presago della madre incinta nella letteratura medievale e antica', *Analecta*

Bollandiana 45 (1927), pp. 225–61.

4. *a fragrant rose … among the thorns*: 'fecitque rosam odoriferam de spinis paulatim pullulare'; echoes Song of Songs 2:2: 'sicut lilium inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias'; 'As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.'
5. *a male seed in the innermost of her body*: On ideas about conception in the Middle Ages, see William F. MacLehose, *'A Tender Age': Cultural Anxieties over the Child in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), paragraphs 40–61.
6. *Wulward the priest*: This may be Wulward of Timsworth, who was involved in a dispute with the church of St Michael [Coslany] in Norwich, according to an act by Bishop William Turbe, issued some time between 29 March 1155 and the autumn of 1163; see *English Episcopal Acta VI*, pp. 120–21.
7. *a lux*: 'qui uulgo lucius'; *lux* (from the Old English *laeks*) is a salmon. On this scene, see also Anthony Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages* (London: Reaktion, 2010), pp. 52–3.
8. *Take it, daughter, take it and put it in your bosom*: This is an allusion to John 19:15: 'tolle tolle crucifige eum'; 'Away with him; away with him; crucify him.' The word *sinus* can mean 'bosom' or 'lap'.
9. *suddenly*: Thomas frequently emphasizes the suddenness of occurrences in the *Life and Passion*. Suddenness enhances the sense of wonder in the events recounted; see Steven Justice, 'Did the Middle Ages Believe in Their Miracles?', *Representations* 103 (2008), pp. 1–29; esp. pp. 7–8.
10. *the interpretation of visions*: Interpreters of dreams (*coniectores*) were classified around 1159 by John of Salisbury (*c*. 1120–80) as operating a type of magic: 'Coniectores sunt qui artificio quodam sibi uendicant somniorum interpretationem,' *Ioannis Saresberiensis Policraticus I–IV*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), I, 11–12, pp. 57–61; esp. p. 59. On the reception of classical ideas about dreams in the Middle Ages, see Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). I am extremely grateful to Sophie Page for introducing me to the scholarship on dreams.
11. *twelve years old*: The age of twelve (sometimes fourteen for boys) was considered the threshold towards maturity and responsibility; see Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, trans. Chaya Galai (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 23–8. On age descriptions in hagiography and miracles tales, see Didier Lett, *L'Enfant des miracles: Enfance et société au Moyen-Âge (XIIe–XIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Aubier, 1997), pp. 31–9. On stages of the life cycle, see Isabelle Cochelin, 'Introduction: Pre-Thirteenth-Century Definitions of the Life Cycle', in *Medieval Life Cycles: Continuity and Change*, ed. Isabelle Cochelin and Karen Smyth (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), esp. pp. 29–36. Twelve was the age at which Jesus made his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and then was 'lost' for three days, during which his parents searched for him anxiously, as described in Luke 2:41–52. This passage fascinated Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–67), who wrote in 1153–7 a devotional treatise in response to the request of Ivo of the Cistercian abbey of Warden in Bedfordshire. On the theme of age, see Denise L. Despres, 'Adolescence and Sanctity: *The Life and Passion of Saint William of Norwich', Journal of Religion* 90 (2010), pp. 33–62; esp. pp. 45–8.
12. *the boy was born to the woman*: An echo of Isaiah 9:6: 'parvulus enim natus est

nobis', 'For a child is born to us.'

13. *chains … broke into parts*: Shackles were broken at the tomb of early medieval saints, as recounted by the highly influential Gregory of Tours in his *The History of the Franks*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), VI, 19, p. 215, and VI, 6, p. 334. Jessopp comments on the influence of St Martin's *Life* on subsequent medieval hagiography: CUL Add 7481, J62 (8 December 1894).
14. *Haveringland*: A village in Norfolk. It is reasonable to assume that Haveringland (or Heverland) was William's place of birth. Thomas Martin, the eighteenth-century antiquary, described the church's west window as containing 'divers ancient panes of historical painting' related to the life of William (Norfolk Record Office, Rye MS 17, II, fol. 202r). For further description of these images, see Ann Eljenholm Nichols, *The Early Art of Norfolk: A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art, Including Items Relevant to Early Drama* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), p. 236. The parish of Haveringland also possessed a bell inscribed 'Sancte Willelme martir ora pro nobis' (Norfolk Record Office, fol. 202v). For a description of the bell, see *The East Anglian* 7 (1897–8), p. 212.
15. *fast … on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays*: Such feats of fasting were not expected of the laity in the Middle Ages, and definitely not of children. I am grateful to Dr Rob Meens for his opinion on penitential fasting.
16. *the art of tanning*: Tanning was prominent in most English towns, see John Cherry, 'Leather', in *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, ed. John Blair and Nigel Ramsay (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 295–318.
17. *surety*: Clothes were valuable possessions, commonly pawned against loans. Thomas refers here to the occupation of Jews as moneylenders, which developed in the twelfth century in several English towns, already in Stephen's reign, and especially in the following decades; see Nick Barratt, 'Finance and the Economy in the Reign of Henry II', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 242–56; esp. pp. 244–5.
18. *Godwin*: Throughout the twelfth century, and beyond, bishops attempted to enforce priestly celibacy, a standard central to Church reform since the eleventh century. The expectation of celibacy applied to those aiming to rise into the major clerical orders, the highest being *presbiter*, priest. It took a long time for this to become the expected norm. Thomas of Monmouth describes Godwin as being such a priest, though clearly not celibate, indeed, he was father to a son, Alexander, William's cousin (see below, pp. 27–8); on married priests, see Emma Mason, 'A Truth Universally Acknowledged', *Studies in Church History* 16 (1979), pp. 171–86; at pp. 175–6.
19. *pascha approached in three days*: Passover in 1144 began at sundown 20 March and lasted until sundown 27 March.
20. *the cook of William, Archdeacon of Norwich*: Norwich Cathedral Priory employed three or four cooks in the thirteenth century and they were well remunerated. They lived with their families in the cathedral precinct and had close knowledge of the institution; see Philip Slavin, *Bread and Ale for the Brethren: The Provisioning of Norwich Cathedral Priory, 1260–1536*, Studies in Regional and Local History 11 (Hatfield: University of Herefordshire Press,

2012), p. 158, and Roberta Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close: The Evolution of the English Cathedral Landscape* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 14–17. On archdeacons and their roles, see *English Episcopal Acta VI*, pp. xxxix–xliii. Twelfth-century archdeacons often took the title of their diocese, but by this period those of the Norwich diocese were designated as Norwich, Norfolk, Suffolk and Sudbury. William was Archdeacon of Norwich between 1126–7 and 1148; see John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300, II. Monastic Cathedrals*, compiled by Diana E. Greenway (London: Athlone Press, 1971), pp. 62–3.

21. *a maternal instinct*: 'presagis uisceribus'; on the depiction of maternal instinct and parental feeling towards holy children and those cured, see Lett, *L'Enfant des miracles*, pp. 144–7.
22. *The lamb … the sheep … the wolf*: This echoes a fable about a poor priest and a wolf fighting over a sheep in a ditch:

    > Hinc stat lupus, hinc presbiter; timent, sed dispariliter,
    > Nam ut fidenter arbitror, lupus stabat securior.
    >
    > Here stands the wolf, there the priest; they fear, but unequally,
    > For, as I judge in good faith, the wolf stood in a safer position.

    See *The Cambridge Songs (Carmina Cantabrigiensia)*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 192 (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998), no. 35, couplet 12, pp. 100–113; at pp. 112–13.
23. *thirty pieces of silver*: Judas Iscariot's reward, Matt. 26:14–15: 'tunc abiit unus de duodecim qui dicitur Iudas Scarioth ad principes sacerdotum et ait illis quid vultis mihi dare et ego vobis eum tradam at illi constituerunt ei triginta argenteos'; 'Then went one of the twelve, who was called Judas Iscariot, to the chief priests, and said to them: What will you give me, and I will deliver him unto you? But they appointed him thirty pieces of silver'; and again, Matt. 27:5: 'et proiectis argenteis in templo recessit et abiens laqueo se suspendit', 'And casting down the pieces of silver in the temple, he departed: and went and hanged himself with an halter.'
24. *refused, and swears*: The author veers here constantly between past and present tenses.
25. *William was handed over to the traitor*: On this scene, see the close reading offered in MacLehose, *'A Tender Age'*, paragraphs 267, 291–3.
26. *lamb led to the slaughter*: See Psalm 43:22: 'aestimati sumus sicut oves occisionis'; 'we are counted as sheep for the slaughter'; Isaiah 53:7: 'sicut ovis ad occisionem ducetur, et quasi agnus coram tondente se obmutescet, et non aperiet os suum'; 'he shall be led as a sheep to the slaughter, and shall be dumb as a lamb before his shearer, and he shall not open his mouth'.
27. *their pascha that year*: Passover infact began on the evening of 20 March in 1144.
28. *a teasel*: 'Prickly flowerheads of the fuller's teasel used to raise the nap on the surface of cloth', *The Overseas Trade of London*, ed. H. Cobb, London Record Society Publications 27 (London: London Record Society, 1990), p. 187; see also Penelope Walton, 'Textiles', in *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, ed. John Blair and Nigel Ramsay (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 319–54; esp. pp. 332, 334. For images, see John H. Munro,

'Medieval Woollens: Textiles, Textile Technology and Industrial Organization, *c*. 800–1500', in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles* I, ed. David Jenkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 181–227; esp. pp. 209–10.

29. *Just as we condemned Christ … inflict on them*: There may be an echo here of the liturgy of *Improperia* (reproaches) for Good Friday, in which Christ remonstrates with His people. It spread in the eleventh century and early twelfth centuries; see Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 60–61, 104–105, 245.
30. *when we were enquiring carefully into the affair*: Some six years later, *c*. 1150. See the Introduction above, pp. xii–xiii.
31. *wound to his left side*: This refers to the wound to Jesus's left side inflicted by a Roman soldier, according to John 19:34: 'sed unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua'; 'But one of the soldiers with a spear opened his side, and immediately there came out blood and water.'
32. In the margin in Latin: Year since the Incarnation of the Lord MCXLIIII, XI Calends of April, feria IIII, Wednesday.
33. *into a privy*: Within the corpus of the miracles of the Virgin Mary, which was codified in England in the twelfth century, there is a story of a Christian boy killed for chanting a Marian hymn while passing through a Jewish neighbourhood. The killer is described as burying the boy in a privy, from which his singing voice continued to be heard. On this tradition, which was eventually reworked by Chaucer in 'The Prioress's Tale', see Roger Dahood, 'English Historical Narratives of Jewish Child-Murder, Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale*, and the Date of Chaucer's Unknown Source', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 31 (2009), pp. 125–40.
34. *either cleanse the sewers … where they wish*: Sewers and cesspits are commonly found in excavations of medieval towns, often situated at boundaries between properties; see John Schofield and Alan Vince, *Medieval Towns* (London: Continuum, 2nd edn 2003), pp. 82–3, 86–7. Before the thirteenth century cesspits were unlined, or lined with timber, so as to allow for liquid refuse to drain away and other waste to accumulate. During excavations of Norwich Castle, refuse pits were found in houses close to the area of Jewish settlement; see Elizabeth Shepherd Popescu, *Norwich Castle: Excavations and Historical Survey, 1987–1998. Part I* (Norwich: East Anglian Archaeology, 2009), pp. 429–30, 482–4. The clearing of cesspits at the change of tenancy is not widely attested, although it seems sensible enough. Here Eleazar imagines the clearing of the cesspit as a public act through which a Christian tenant might make public disdain of a previous Jewish tenant.
35. *totally eliminated from the realm of England*: While mass expulsions from territories of European polities became more common from the later thirteenth century, regional expulsion (due to an ecclesiastical initiative or an outbreak of local animosity) is recorded already in the twelfth century, though not in England; see Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 30–31, 107, 118–19.
36. *ritual*: Thomas uses the word *sacramento* ('sacrament'), but in the twelfth century this was used in a general sense to denote an important rite of the Church, rather than one of the seven sacraments which became more clearly defined by the end of that century; see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist*

in Late Medieval Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 14–24.

37. *Thorpe Wood*: This became part of the patrimony of the bishopric of Norwich, as a gift from Henry I to Bishop Losinga in 1101. Just east of the city, it was used for unofficial grazing by the poor; it also attracted a community of lepers, dedicated to St Mary Magdalene. See Carole Rawcliffe, 'Sickness and Health', in *Medieval Norwich*, ed. Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (London: Hambledon Press, 2004), pp. 301–24, esp. p. 305, and see map on p. 307. Thorpe Wood later became Mousehold Heath; see Oliver Rackham, *The History of the Countryside* (London: J. M. Dent, 1986), pp. 299–302, and *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (London: J. M. Dent, revised edn, 1990), pp. 144–5. For the enduring significance of the Heath, see Andy Wood, 'Kett's Rebellion', in *Medieval Norwich*, ed. Rawcliffe and Wilson, pp. 277–300, esp. pp. 281, 292–3.
38. *St Mary Magdalene*: This leper house was founded by Bishop Losinga; see Carole Rawcliffe, *The Hospitals of Medieval Norwich*, Studies in East Anglian History 2 (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1995), pp. 26, 41–3, 163, and see fig. 2 on p. 45.
39. *St Leonard's*: Also founded by Bishop Losinga, for the accommodation of the monks of Norwich while the cathedral was being constructed in the 1090s, upon episcopal land in Thorpe Wood. It later became a cell of Norwich Cathedral Priory, headed by a prior who was appointed by the bishop; see *Victoria County History: Norfolk* II (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1906), p. 329. See also Everett U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 178–81.
40. *and indeed recognizing them as Jews*: The implication here is that the Jews recognized him.
41. *Jews did not … on that day*: By the thirteenth century, ecclesiastical and urban legislation required that Jews refrain from appearing outdoors during Holy Week; see Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 28–34.
42. *the wood*: Woods often appear as sites of violent deeds that remain undetected; see the plan of Kenelm's sister (as reported by William of Malmesbury) to have her brother killed while he is hunting in deep woods; see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings* I, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors and completed by R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), Book II, ch. 211, pp. 390–93.
43. *John, the sheriff*: John de Chesney (de Querceto) occurs as sheriff from 1140 and dies *c*. 1146; see Judith A. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* Public Record Office Handbooks 24 (London: HMSO, 1990), p. 61, and H. A. Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen, 1135–54: Anarchy in England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970), pp. 149–50. The office of sheriff passed through the family: John was succeeded by his brother, William; see below, Book Four, note 8, p. 233.
44. *100 marks*: 1 mark was the equivalent of ⅔ lb of silver; 100 marks = 66.66 lb of silver.
45. *to whom … his own functions*: The bishop had delegated to Wichemann the treatment of those sins reserved to him. I am grateful to Michael Haren for an illuminating exchange about this section.
46. *and*: A gap for his name was left by the scribe.

47. *he set forth to them in order*: By the twelfth century confessional secrecy was well established, and is evident in Gratian's *Decretum*: 'Sacerdos ante omnia caveat, ne de his, qui ei confitentur peccata sua, recitet alicui quod ea confessus est; non propinquis, non extraneis, neque, quod absit, pro aliquo scandalo. Nam si hoc fecerit, deponatur, et omnibus diebus vitae suae ignominiosus peregrinando pergat,' II.33.q.3.c.2. What we have here is a tale not of confession, but of the revelation of a secret by a layman on his deathbed, following a prompt in a dream. Here is a pious death scene, with the priest as a reliable witness, who passed it on to Thomas. I am very grateful here to the insight into this section offered to me very generously by Michael Haren.
48. *a fiery ladder*: An echo of Jacob's ladder, as in Genesis 28:12: 'viditque in somnis scalam stantem super terram et cacumen illius tangens caelum angelos quoque Dei ascendentes et descendentes per eam'; 'And he saw in his sleep a ladder standing upon the earth, and the top thereof touching heaven: the angels also of God ascending and descending by it.'
49. *Sprowston … Bishop Everard*: Sprowston, a village in Norfolk (and now a suburb of Norwich), was part of the manor held by Sir Richard de Lucy. On Bishop Everard, see *English Episcopal Acta VI*, pp. xxxi–xxxiii. He retired in 1145 to the Cistercian Abbey of Fontenay in Burgundy, where he supervised the completion of the buildings there; see Kenneth J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800–1200* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1974), p. 228. He was buried in a prominent location and his tomb inscription reads 'Here lies Lord Eborard, Bishop of Norwich, who built this temple', Eric Fernie, *An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 16, n. 64.
50. *Legarda – the widow of William Apulus*: Legarda, an old Frankish name, was common in Poitou in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; William Apulus is not a known person, but *Apulus* is a name for men from southern Italy, lands ruled by Norman kings; see *The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, ed. and trans. Frank Barlow (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 16–17. At the time Thomas was writing William Apulus may have been a person who arrived in England through commercial or martial activities. His widow is sufficiently eminent to be called *Domina* ('Lady') Legarda.
51. *that light was seen … the east*: Echoing Matthew 2:2: 'vidimus enim stellam eius in oriente et venimus adorare eum'; 'For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to adore him.'
52. *pierced*: 'aporiatum' is a rare usage and can mean 'astonished' or 'perplexed', as in Isaiah 59:16: 'et vidit quia non est vir et aporiatus est'; 'And he saw that there is not a man: and he stood astonished'; or it can mean 'straitened', as in 2 Corinthians 4:8 (as a verb): 'in omnibus tribulationem patimur sed non angustiamur aporiamur sed non destituimur'; 'In all things we suffer tribulation, but are not distressed; we are straitened, but are not destitute.' Earlier the body is described as left hanging from a tree (p. 21).
53. *two ravens … either side*: For a similar case of birds of prey keeping away from a dead stag in the presence of Columbanus, see *The Life of St Columban by the Monk Jonas*, trans. Dana Carleton Munro (Felinfach: Llanerch, 1993), chapter 27, pp. 47–8.
54. *he was unharmed and uncorrupted*: The finding of an uncorrupted body was

highly significant in twelfth-century writing, both secular and religious. These were interpreted by historians and hagiographers as highly significant signs of God's favour to the people who witnessed such wonders. William of Malmesbury commented: 'I believe Heaven's purpose in this was that our nation […] might by considering the incorruption of the saints be kindled to a more confident hope in the resurrection,' and described the bodies of five saints which still seemed to be alive; see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 386–7; on this theme, see Laura Ashe, *Fiction and History in England, 1066–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 137–8.

55. *the detriment of the forest*: Like much English woodland at the time, Thorpe Wood was used heavily by those living near it; see Oliver Rackham, 'Forest and Upland', in *A Social History of England, 900–1200*, ed. Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 46–55.
56. *informed him of the body … advised him to do so*: What was one expected to do when coming upon a corpse? English law of the twelfth century required that communities report such crimes; entries in the Pipe Roll of Henry I's reign show that they were fined when they failed to do so. Men were bound into oath-groups of mutual responsibility to pursue thieves and report murders. To these appeals from below was added the role of sheriffs and justices to seek out crimes and prosecute them. Yet neither action seems to have been taken in the case of William of Norwich. Instead, a family member turned to the local bishop, into whose jurisdiction neither the Jews nor criminal law belonged. On twelfth-century criminal law, see Raoul C. van Caenegem, 'Public Prosecution of Crime in Twelfth-Century England', in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. N. L. Brooke, D. E. Luscombe, G. H. Martin and Dorothy Owen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 41–76.
57. *striking the hearts … of astonishment*: In italics: added at the bottom of the page in contemporary hand below the last line of column b.
58. *at that time*: On Holy Week and attitudes to Jews, see David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 200–230.
59. *Leviva … maternal aunt*: She is associated with the cult at Bury St Edmunds; see *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth*, trans. and ed. Augustus Jessopp and Montague Rhodes James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), p. xci (henceforward, Jessopp and James).
60. *Saturday before Palm Sunday*: A common reading for that week (Lent 5) is John 8:46–59, which ends with the scene of the Jews intending to stone Christ.
61. *collapsed, as if dead*: On maternal mourning, see Lett, *L'Enfant des miracles*, pp. 200–201.
62. *crying and wailing through the streets*: On the medieval tradition of laments and its classical roots, see Jan M. Ziolkowski, 'Laments for Lost Children: Latin Traditions', in *Laments for the Lost in Medieval Literature*, ed. Jane Tolmie and M. J. Toswell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 81–107.
63. *the day of the synod arrived … presided over it*: By the reign of Stephen it was common for synods to take place once or twice a year and to function as an ecclesiastical court. Godwin Sturt brought his claim to the bishop on the first day, after the sermon which opened the proceedings; following his complaint,

the bishop summoned the sheriff to answer for the Jews, who lived under royal protection. The sheriff appeared, brought the Jews, and then protected the Jews, who denied the accusations and refused trial by ordeal. They appealed to their right to be judged by the king. See Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1066–1154* (London: Longman, 1979), pp. 154–5; and on English synods more generally, see C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 16–18. For the liturgy of an English synod in the twelfth century, which provides for three days, see *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, ed. Henry Austin Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society 39 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1910), pp. 54–6.

64. *my property … is on fire*: 'meaque res agitur paries cum [pro]ximus ardet'; Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library 194 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), *Epistles*, Book I, Epistle xviii, line 84, pp. 374–5: 'nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet'; 'It is your own safety that's at stake, when your neighbour's wall is in flames.' Horace's *Satires* were widely taught in English schools where Latin was studied, and favoured as a useful text for the acquisition of grammar, rhetoric and a wide vocabulary; see Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 33–41, 62–3.
65. *brought his speech to an end*: The *peroratio* sees the summation of the speech, when in a trial the orator turns to the court; see Quintilian, *The Orator's Education [Institutio Oratoria]*, Book 6, c. 1, ed. and trans. Donald A. Russell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 9–45, and Cicero, *De Inventione* Book I, lii, cc. 98–109, trans. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 147–63. It was discussed and taught by rhetoricians of the twelfth century; see *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, pp. 38–47, 394–9.
66. *dean of Norwich*: Being a monastic cathedral, the community of monks in Norwich Cathedral Priory was headed by a prior, and the diocese by the bishop; unlike secular cathedrals whose chapter of canons was headed by a dean. So here the dean may mean one of the archdeacons of Norwich, whose roles were disciplinary and judicial, most likely William, Archdeacon of Norwich, as in Book Two, note 57, p. 225.
67. *Aimar*: See note 75, p. xliv.
68. *purge themselves*: On the clearing of an accused from guilt by the taking of an oath, see John Hudson, *The Formation of the English Common Law* (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 76–7.
69. *by ordeal*: For the use of ordeal in this period, see ibid., pp. 72–5.
70. *bier*: *feretro*. The Latin *feretrum* is habitually used to describe a shrine and arises from the word for 'bier', a device for carrying a body. In the Middle Ages biers ranged from elaborate metal containers in the shape of a chest or box or even a cross; see Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), pp. 16–18, 32–42. By 1305 William's *feretrum* in the cathedral was painted and gilt; see Jonathan Finch, 'The Monuments', in *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096–1996*, ed. Ian Atherton, Eric Fernie, Christopher Harper-Bill and Hassell Smith (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), p. 470. The word is used by Thomas's contemporary, Thomas of Marlborough, for the shrine of St Wigstan; see Thomas of

Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, ed. and trans. Jane Sayers and Leslie Watkiss (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), chapter 521, p. 488.

71. *Holy Cross*: See Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image*, trans. Lee Preedy (Leiden: Brill, 2004). On the arrangements related to the cult of saints in cathedrals, see Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*. On the efforts of Norman bishops to build suitable shrines at places of worship, see Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, pp. l–li.
72. *cloth*: I shall consistently translate the word *tapetum* as a ceremonial cloth, a pall, a covering laid out as a sign of reverence.
73. *choir screen*: 'pulpitum', here in the sense of a choir screen; see Aymer Vallance, *Greater English Church Screens* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1947), pp. 43–6, and plate 45; see also William St John Hope, 'Quire Screens in English Churches, with Special Reference to the Twelfth-Century Quire Screen Formerly in the Cathedral Chruch of Ely', *Archaeologia* 68 (1916/17), pp. 43–110; esp. pp. 43–55.
74. *funerary ritual of washing*: The monastic constitutions composed by Archbishop Lanfranc (*c*. 1005–1089) regulated many aspects of monastic life in twelfth-century England, including a detailed description of the rituals of death and burial; see *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. David Knowles, revised by Christopher N. L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), chapters 112–13, pp. 178–93. It was required that the intimate ritual be conducted by those of the same ecclesiastical order as the deceased: 'priests for a priest, deacons for a deacon and so forth […] A child's corpse shall however not be washed by children but by converses,' p. 183. In this case Thomas describes a much more elaborate provision for the washing of William's body, arising from the special circumstances of the boy's death and the miracles already imputed to him. For another description, see *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, ed. Wilson, p. 194. On the funerals of children, see Lett, *L'Enfant des miracles*, pp. 203–205. For a more general discussion, see Michel Lauwers, *La Mémoire des ancêtres, le souci des morts: Morts, rites et société au Moyen Âge, diocèse de Liège, XIe–XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1997).
75. *To be part … good fortune*: This is a somewhat awkward attempt at the rhetorical device of *antithesis*.
76. *alb*: A liturgical vestment in the shape of a tunic with sleeves; see Joseph Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1907), pp. 57–92; esp. pp. 69–89, on the twelfth century.
77. *telling signs of martyrdom … feet and side*: Marks like those on the body of the crucified Christ.
78. *first founders*: The first generation of monks; see the Introduction, pp. xxv–xxvi.
79. *inner cemetery*: The monks' cemetery at Norwich Cathedral Priory was situated to the south of the east end, as was the custom; cloister alleys were also used for the burial of important patrons, see Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close*, pp. 96–7.

1. *satire*: 'satyrico'; here 'satire', a writing style associated with these rude imaginary wood deities, is more suitable.
2. *Philistines*: *Allophili* occurs in the Vulgate translation of Psalm 55:1: 'in finem pro populo qui a sanctis longe factus est David in tituli inscriptione cum tenuerunt eum Allophili in Geth'; 'Unto the end, for a people that is removed at a distance from the sanctuary for David, for an inscription of a title [or pillar] when the Philistines held him in Geth.' The word in Hebrew is *Plishtim*, hence 'Philistines' in the Douay-Rheims version, and as in Jessopp and James, pp. 58–9. Here Thomas remembers 'Allobroga' as a pun on the biblical *allophili*, but he ignores the fact that the nominative is *Allobrox*, as pertaining to the Allobrogici people of Gaul, which came to mean 'a person of barbarous speech'.
3. *Goliath*: The encounter between David and Goliath is told in 1 Samuel 17.
4. *famed in all parts of England*: According to William of Malmesbury there were five quintessentially English saints revered in the twelfth century – Etheldreda, Werburga, Edmund, Elphege and Cuthbert – although people in 'other places boasted of more', William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, Book II, ch. 207, pp. 384–7. The emphasis here is on English saints, as opposed to local ones; here Thomas extends the hierarchy to those known by all Christians. On this passage, see Robert M. Stein, 'Making History English: Cultural Identity and Historical Explanation in William of Malmesbury and Laȝamon's *Brut*', in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 97–115; esp. p. 99. On the reach of Cuthbert's renown, see Maureen C. Miller, 'The Significance of St Cuthbert's Vestments', *Studies in Church History* 47 (2011), pp. 90–102.
5. *Greece and Palestine*: A similar attempt to describe the extent – and variety – of Christian regions, where reference is made to Greece and Palestine, is to be found in Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks: Gesta dei per Francos*, trans. Robert Levine (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 31: 'Syria, Palestine, and Greece, the seed-beds of the new grace, have lost their internal strength at the roots, while the Italians, French, and English, who migrated there, have flourished'; for the original, see *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 127A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), Book I, ll. 208–11, p. 92.
6. *detracting from the glory of the saints*: In his collection of miracles of Thomas Becket, Benedict of Peterborough discusses the effect of detractors upon the manner of his writing: 'Miracula S. Thomae auctore Benedicto', in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. James Craigie Robertson (London: HMSO, 1876 [Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprints, 1965]), I.9, pp. 39–40.
7. *Paul*: 2 Corinthians 12: 2–4: 'scio hominem in Christo ante annos quattuordecim sive in corpore nescio sive extra corpus nescio Deus scit raptum eiusmodi usque ad tertium caelum et scio huiusmodi hominem sive in corpore sive extra corpus nescio Deus scit quoniam raptus est in paradisum et audivit arcana verba quae non licet homini loqui'; 'I know a man in Christ above fourteen years ago (whether in the body, I know not, or out of the body, I know not; God knoweth), such a one caught up to the third heaven. And I know such a man (whether in the body, or out of the body, I know not: God

knoweth), That he was caught up into paradise, and heard secret words, which it is not granted to man to utter.'

8. *even to the blind and to the barbers*: This proverbial saying is twice cited in *The Letters of John of Salisbury, II: The Later Letters (1163–1180)*, ed. W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), Letter 223, at pp. 386–7 'all the riffraff', and Letter 322, at pp. 790–1 'to the blear-eyed and the barbers'. It is based on Horace, *Satires*, 1, 7, 3.
9. *in the house … many mansions*: See Christ after the Last Supper, John 14:2: 'in domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt si quo minus dixissem vobis quia vado parare vobis locum'; 'In my Father's house there are many mansions. If not, I would have told you: because I go to prepare a place for you.'
10. *everything is good … evil which is absent*: The idea of evil as the privation of good was most influentially developed by Augustine, as in the *Enchiridion*: 'Since therefore the Creator of all natural existences without exception is supremely good, all natural existences are good […] But for goodness to be decreased is an evil,' *Saint Augustine's Enchiridion or Manual to Laurentius Concerning Faith, Hope and Charity*, trans. Ernest Evans (London: SPCK, 1953), IV, 12, p. 9; 'sed bonum minui malum est', *Aurelii Augustini Opera* XIII/2, ed. M. P. J. van den Hout et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), p. 54.
11. *lamb of the Lord*: 'In qua nimirum inestimabili gloria agnum illum dominicum,' which echoes Revelation 7:17: 'quoniam agnus qui in medio throni est reget illos'; 'For the Lamb, which is in the midst of the throne, shall rule them.'
12. *grazes among the lilies*: 'qui pascit inter lilia sequuntur uirginum chori quocunque ierit'; see Song of Songs 2:16: 'dilectus meus mihi et ego illi qui pascitur inter lilia'; 'My beloved to me, and I to him who feedeth among the lilies'; or, more distantly, Song of Songs 6:2: 'sicut lilium inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias'; 'As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.'
13. *to celebrate in song … excellent novelty that is His alone*: 'quod soli illius excellentissime nouitatis concinunt canticum', an echo here, perhaps, of Psalm 97:1: 'psalmus David cantate Domino canticum novum quoniam mirabilia fecit salvavit sibi dextera eius et brachium sanctum eius'; 'A psalm for David himself. Sing ye to the Lord a new canticle: because he hath done wonderful things. His right hand hath wrought for him salvation, and his arm is holy.'
14. *stole*: The stole (*stola*) is a band of embroidered silk which clerics wear around the neck, from the order of deacon upwards. On the stole as priestly insignia, see Roger E. Reynolds, 'Clerical Liturgical Vestments and Liturgical Colors in the Middle Ages', in Roger E. Reynolds, *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), VI, 1–16; esp. pp. 6–7. Different ways of wearing the stole indicate the status of the wearer; see Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, esp. pp. 582–601. For a good picture of a later stole, see Juliane von Fircks, *Liturgische Gewänder des Mittelalters aus St Nikolai in Stralsund* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2008), pp. 236–7.
15. *Welney*: A village in Norfolk, on the River Well. A report of this vision may have inspired an entry in Hélinand of Froidmont's *Chronicon*, as discussed above, pp. xxxi–xxxii. On this and such accounts, see C. S. Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 176–7.
16. *various places … known in life*: Narratives depicting voyages to other worlds became a common genre in the twelfth century, often based on earlier

descriptions; see Aaron Gurevich, *Historical Anthropology of the Middle Ages*, ed. Jana Howlett (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), pp. 50–64 and 65–89. For a vision of the otherworld reused in the early thirteenth century, see Chris Wilson, 'The Vision of St Fursa in Thirteenth-Century Didactic Literature', *Studies in Church History* 47 (2011), pp. 159–70.

17. *Virgin Mary*: By the twelfth century the cult of the Virgin Mary was widespread and central to both monastic devotion and parish practices. Thomas of Marlborough, sacrist and then prior of Evesham Abbey, was a devotee of the local saint, Ecgwin, but he was equally active in supporting the cult of Mary in the crypt of the monastic church; see Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, cc. 521, 525–7, pp. 488–96.
18. *these holy days*: Holy Week, the week before Easter.
19. *someone caused*: 'aliquo insinuante' could also mean that someone had informed them.
20. *as a priest he could not be absent from the synod*: On the conventions regarding participation in synods, see Cheney, *English Synodalia*, pp. 14–15.
21. *sacrists*: On the system of office-holders in medieval monastic communities, known as obedientiaries, see Slavin, *Bread and Ale for the Brethren*, p. 11.
22. *a candle and a penny*: On offerings at shrines, see Ronald C. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 13–15.
23. *false as true*: The metaphor of true and false coinage is used here.
24. *Mulbarton*: A village in Norfolk.
25. *everything that was bad, the total absence of good*: Augustine's discussion of how demons deceive was an influential one; see Gillian R. Evans, *Augustine on Evil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 108–11. See also note 10 above.
26. *winged oars*: Here *remigio alarum* echoes 'uolat ille per aëra magnum remigio alarum ac Libyae citus astitit oris,' *Aeneid* I, ll. 300–301, in P. Vergili Maronis, *Opera*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 112; 'He flies across the great air; using wings as oars, he quickly lands on Libyan shores,' *The Aeneid of Virgil*, trans. Allen Mandelbaum (Toronto: Bantam, 1981), p. 11, ll. 424–5.
27. *monks' cook*: See note 20 to Book One. On the relationship between the bishop and cooks, see Brett, *The English Church*, pp. 143, 177.
28. *went into labour*: On reports of childbirth miracles in this period, see Hilary Powell, 'The "Miracle of Childbirth": The Portrayal of Parturient Women in Medieval Miracle Narratives', *Social History of Medicine* 25 (2012), pp. 795–811; on the general dearth of such cases, see pp. 795–8.
29. *What wonderful speed*: Speed is often emphasized a sign of a miraculous cure; see also Pierre-André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (Xle–XIIe siècle)* (Paris: Cerf, 1985), p. 69.
30. *an incubus demon*: Incubi were male demons who sought to have sexual intercourse with women; see the contemporary mention in Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. M. R. James, revised by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 158–9: 'Audiuimus demones incubos et succubos, et concubitus eorum periculosos', 'We have heard of demons that are *incubi* and *succubi*, and of the dangers of union with them.' However, this is not the case here: the *incubus* seeks to make

the virgin break her vow of chastity and 'marry' him. A tradition of worrying about demons seducing male ascetics and chaste Christian women goes as far back as Jerome's hagiographic work, such as the Lives of Paul the Hermit and Hilarion; see Susan Weingarten, *The Saint's Saint: Hagiography and Geography in Jerome* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 70, 94, 230–1.

31. *Dunwich*: A village in Suffolk.
32. *psalms which she had learned*: High-born people knew their psalms, like St Kenelm's murderous sister, who read them backwards when she heard that his body had been discovered; see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, Book II, ch. 211, pp. 390–93.
33. *You have battled with an evil enemy*: There may be a faint echo of Jacob's struggle (Genesis 32:28), though he fought God (in the shape of an angel) and the girl fought a demon.
34. *HERBERT the bishop*: On Herbert of Losinga, see *English Episcopal Acta VI*, pp. xxviii–xxxi.
35. *Wichemann the monk*: On Wichemann, see Book One, note 45, p. 211.
36. *There they prayed … to the holy martyr*: See Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents*, pp. 12–13.
37. *what virtuous power … himself had founded*: See the treatment of this case in Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England*, pp. 118–19.
38. *suffering does not … its cause [does]*: This is a saying based on Augustine's sermon on the birth of the Martyr Vincent: 'Vincentii in poenis fortitudo ex adjutorio Christi. Martyres discernit causa, non poena', *Sermo* 275.1, *Patrologia Latina* 39, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1865), col. 1254. It is also cited by John of Salisbury in a letter to John of Canterbury, Bishop of Poitiers, about the case of Thomas Becket: 'Martyres discernit causa, non poena' *The Letters of John of Salisbury II*, Letter 305, at pp. 726–7.
39. *dropsy*: A condition (oedema) characterized by an excess of fluid in the body.
40. *various ailments … cured*: For a table that plots the occurrence of illnesses in miracles accounts, see Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 343.
41. *The Spirit … gospel to the poor*: Missing the Latin 'propter quod unxit me'; see Luke 4:18 'Spiritus Domini super me: propter quod unxit me, evangelizare pauperibus misit me'; 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, wherefore he has anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor.'
42. *unlearned*: *Idiotae* echoes Acts 4:13 with reference to Peter and John: 'videntes autem Petri constantiam et Iohannis conperto quod homines essent sine litteris et idiotae admirabantur'; 'Now seeing the constancy of Peter and of John, understanding that they were illiterate and ignorant men, they wondered.'
43. *Pancras, Pantaleon and Celsus*: On child saints, see André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 150–51.
44. *set a child amid … kingdom of heaven*: See Matthew 18:2–4: 'et advocans Iesus parvulum statuit eum in medio eorum et dixit amen dico vobis nisi conversi fueritis et efficiamini sicut parvuli non intrabitis in regnum caelorum quicumque ergo humiliaverit se sicut parvulus iste hic est maior in regno caelorum'; 'And Jesus calling unto him a little child, set him in the midst of them, And said: Amen I say to you, unless you be converted, and become as

little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, he is the greater in the kingdom of heaven.'

45. *why did the Lord … confound the powerful*: An echo of 1 Corinthians 1:27–8: 'sed quae stulta sunt mundi elegit Deus ut confundat sapientes et infirma mundi elegit Deus ut confundat fortia et ignobilia mundi et contemptibilia elegit Deus et quae non sunt ut ea quae sunt destrueret'; 'But the foolish things of the world hath God chosen, that he may confound the wise; and the weak things of the world hath God chosen, that he may confound the strong. And the base things of the world, and the things that are contemptible, hath God chosen, and things that are not, that he might bring to nought things that are.'
46. *invite to His … and the lame*: Paraphrase of Luke 14:11–13: 'quia omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur et qui se humiliat exaltabitur dicebat autem et ei qui se invitaverat cum facis prandium aut cenam noli vocare amicos tuos neque fratres tuos neque cognatos neque vicinos divites ne forte et ipsi te reinvitent et fiat tibi retributio sed cum facis convivium voca pauperes debiles claudos caecos'; 'Because every one that exalteth himself, shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted. And he said to him also that had invited him: When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen, nor thy neighbours who are rich; lest perhaps they also invite thee again, and a recompense be made to thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind.'
47. *And He placed … in hell*: See Luke 16:20–25: 'et erat quidam mendicus nomine Lazarus qui iacebat ad ianuam eius ulceribus plenus cupiens saturari de micis quae cadebant de mensa divitis sed et canes veniebant et lingebant ulcera eius factum est autem ut moreretur mendicus et portaretur ab angelis in sinum Abrahae mortuus est autem et dives et sepultus est in inferno elevans oculos suos cum esset in tormentis videbat Abraham a longe et Lazarum in sinu eius et ipse clamans dixit pater Abraham miserere mei et mitte Lazarum ut intinguat extremum digiti sui in aqua ut refrigeret linguam meam quia crucior in hac flamma et dixit illi Abraham fili recordare quia recepisti bona in vita tua et Lazarus similiter mala nunc autem hic consolatur tu vero cruciaris; 'And there was a certain beggar, named Lazarus, who lay at his gate, full of sores, desiring to be filled with the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table, and no one did give him; moreover the dogs came, and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom. And the rich man also died: and he was buried in hell. And lifting up his eyes when he was in torments, he saw Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom: And he cried, and said: Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, to cool my tongue: for I am tormented in this flame. And Abraham said to him: Son, remember that thou didst receive good things in thy lifetime, and likewise Lazareth evil things, but now he is comforted; and thou art tormented.'
48. *the innocents 'of two years old or less'*: See Matthew 2:16: 'tunc Herodes videns quoniam inlusus esset a magis iratus est valde et mittens occidit omnes pueros qui erant in Bethleem et in omnibus finibus eius a bimatu et infra secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis'; 'Then Herod perceiving that he was deluded by the wise men, was exceeding angry; and sending killed all the men children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the borders thereof, from two years old and

under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men.' On the theme of innocent martyrdom, see Paul A. Hayward, 'The Idea of Innocent Martyrdom in Late Tenth- and Eleventh-Century English Hagiology', *Studies in Church History* 30 (1993), pp. 81–92.

49. *dierum penalium*: *dierum penalium* may be a miscopying of *dierum paschalium* ('paschal days', the feast of Passover, which lasts eight days) and would fit the context far better. I am most grateful to Philipp Nothaft for an exchange on this matter.
50. *prove the truth of the matter with several proofs*: Since Thomas aims here to refute accusations or doubts about the veneration of William as a martyr, I have chosen to translate *argumentum* as 'proof'. On the rhetorical meaning of *argumentum*, see Peter Ainsworth, 'Legendary History: *Historia* and *Fabula*', in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 387–416; at p. 389, and Despres, 'Adolescence and Sanctity', pp. 39–40, 49–51, 53–4.
51. *the Jews' house*: On Jews' houses in England, with reference to one in Norwich, see Anthony Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 177–81.
52. *Christian woman … a servant for them*: Both Christian and Jewish religious leaders considered the employment of Christian maids in Jewish households to be fraught with the danger of unwelcome religious influence, and also of ritual contamination; see Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christian–Jewish Relations, 1000–1300: Jews in the Service of Medieval Christendom* (Harlow: Pearson, 2011), pp. 63–4, 99–100, and Hannah Meyer, 'Female Moneylending and Wet-Nursing in Jewish–Christian Relations in Thirteenth-Century England', dissertation submitted for a PhD, University of Cambridge, 2009, pp. 255–6.
53. *a purse*: For an image of a purse, see Cherry, 'Leather', p. 317, fig. 162.
54. *had he agreed … they were accused*: In the twelfth century kin were deemed to be the injured party in the killing of their relatives. They could exact revenge or settle for compensation.
55. *slaves in foreign lands*: On the concept of service in Jewish–Christian relations, see Abulafia, *Christian–Jewish Relations*, passim.
56. *leaders and rabbis … at Narbonne*: See Introduction, pp. xxiii–xxiv.
57. *William of Hastings*: A William of Hastings served as steward to the monastery of Bury St Edmunds. See reference in CUL Add 7481, J63 (1 February 1895).
58. *What is put … rather its cause*: See note 38 above.
59. *Simon de Nodariis*: Or de Nogariis or de Novers. The family's chief manor, held from the Bishop of Norwich, was Swanton Novers in Norfolk. On the relationship between de Nodariis and the bishop, see *English Episcopal Acta VI*, pp. l–li. It is notable that while de Nodariis frequently witnessed the charters of Bishop Everard, he no longer did so for Bishop William. This casts doubt on the imagined scenario of William's impassioned defence of Simon in the royal court. For some charters witnessed by de Nodariis, see Barbara Dodwell, 'Some Charters Relating to the Honour of Bracton', in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. Patricia M. Barnes and C. F. Slade (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1962), pp. 147–65; nos. 2–3, pp. 158–9.
60. *London for burial*: The Jews of Norwich did not have burial rights in that city, so they were obliged to bury elsewhere; see V. D. Lipman, *The Jews of Medieval Norwich*, ed. A. M. Habermann (London: Jewish Historical Society of England,

1967), pp. 124–5.

61. *the Jews assembled … the aforesaid Jew*: The Jews approached the king and accused Simon de Nodariis of killing – or arranging to kill – Eleazar. Thomas offers a reconstructed set of legal speeches, led by Bishop Turbe, whose eloquence is praised in the Prologue (p. 3). These speeches appear after Thomas's seven arguments against those who doubted William's virtue. It is to be read alongside the previous account of the legal exchanges in the episcopal court during the 1144 synod. William Turbe is presented as acting on behalf of the accused as his overlord, and as a person familiar with secular as well as ecclesiastical procedures.
62. *an imaginary account of the trial*: Composition of speeches or poetry in the style of a classical author was a common exercise in schools in the twelfth century, aimed at instilling in students the best rhetorical practice. See Jan Ziolkowski, 'The Highest Form of Compliment: *Imitatio* in Medieval Latin Culture', in *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke*, ed. John Marenbon (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 293–307.
63. *they fell among thieves*: An echo of the parable of the Good Samaritan. See Luke 10:30: 'suscipiens autem Iesus dixit homo quidam descendebat ab Hierusalem in Hiericho et incidit in latrones qui etiam despoliaverunt eum et plagis inpositis abierunt semivivo relicto'; 'And Jesus answering, said: A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among robbers, who also stripped him, and having wounded him went away, leaving him half dead.'
64. *But wait patiently … a poisonous tree*: This sounds like a citation, but I have not been able to identify it.
65. *rhetorical disputation*: This section is a *declamatio*. This was a common rhetorical exercise in the classical tradition, and for its followers in the Middle Ages. It required an effort of imagination and psychological insight, as well as skill in the creation of an 'elaborately ornamented and rehearsed speech on a fictional situation or hypothetical lawsuit', Richard A. Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2nd edn, 1991), p. 44.
66. *drops of blood … through his posterior*: There was a long-standing myth that Jewish men suffered from anal bleeding, a punishment for their role in the Crucifixion; see Willis Johnson, 'The Myth of Jewish Male Menses', *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998), pp. 273–95. See also Bale, *Feeling Persecuted*, pp. 81–2.
67. *His innocent blood … our children*: Matthew 27:25: 'et respondens universus populus dixit sanguis eius super nos et super filios nostros'; 'And the whole people answering, said: His blood be upon us and our children.' Also Pilate in Matthew 27: 24: 'Innocens ego sum a sanguine justi hujus: vos videritis'; 'I am innocent of the blood of this just man; look you to it.'
68. *to elect its bishop*: On episcopal election, see Brett, *The English Chruch*, pp. 104–112.
69. *London*: For 'London' Thomas uses the name 'Trinovante'. Tacitus and Caesar describe the Trinovantes as a Celtic tribe from Essex. They rebelled against the Romans together with the Iceni. The use of the name for London – with the suggestion of its being the New Troy – was the invention of Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britannorum* I, 17. Following Geoffrey, Henry of Huntingdon used it, too, referring to Brutus: 'Edificauit proinde *Trinouantum* in

memoriale sempiternum, id est *Troiam nouam*, quam nunc Lundoniam uocamus', 'He founded *Trinovantum* as an everlasting memorial, that is "New Troy", which nowadays we call London', in *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Diana Greenway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), Book 8, pp. 560–61; also Book 8, pp. 570–73.

70. *Mileham*: A village in Norfolk, situated between Fakenham and East Dereham, of which the Cheneys were lords.

BOOK THREE

1. *Alan of Setchy*: The uncle of Prior Richard of Norwich.
2. *the sacrist*: See *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury, c.1066–1540*, ed. Joan Greatrex (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 572.
3. *Holy Trinity Church in Canterbury*: i.e., Canterbury Cathedral.
4. *the third book*: While working on his translation, Jessopp wrote to James about Book Three: 'I suspect it is the most repulsive section of the work,' Add 7481, J56 (11 April 1894).
5. *I, Thomas of Norwich*: 'ego Thomas Norwici'; this is the only occasion when Thomas assumes the name of his new home town.
6. *Elias*: On Elias's career, see Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae II*, p. 59; also *The Heads of Religious Houses I*, p. 57. Elias succeeded William Turbe in 1146 and was succeeded by Richard before 1 March 1155; he may have died in the year 1150, as Thomas associates Elias's death with the removal of the cloth in that year.
7. *the revelation of Gamaliel to Lucian occurred to me*: See Acts 22:3: 'Et dixit: ego sum vir Judaeus natus Tarso Ciliciae nutritus autem in ista civitate secus pedes Gamalihel eruditus juxta veritatem paternae legis aemulator legis sicut et vos omnes estis hodie'; 'And he saith: I am a Jew, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, but brought up in this city, at the feet of Gamaliel, taught according to the truth of the law of the fathers, zealous for the law, as also all you are this day.' Gamaliel and Nicodemus were believed to have buried the remains of St Stephen. The soul of Gamaliel was reported to have appeared to St Lucian in 415 and revealed the place of St Stephen's relics. This is claimed by no less than Augustine, 'Epistola Aviti ad Palchonium de reliquiis sancti Stephani et de Luciani epistola a se e graeco in Latinum versa,' *Patrologia Latina* 41, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1845), cols. 805–8. Hence the Catholic tradition treats Gamaliel as a saint; see Taylor R. Marshall, *The Catholic Perspective on Paul: Paul and the Origins of Catholic Christianity* (Dallas, TX: Saint John Press, 2010), pp. 19–23.
8. *Oculi mei*: 'Oculi mei semper ad dominum'; 'My eyes are always on the Lord.' This is the Introit for the third Sunday in Lent, but is also sung on Sundays throughout the year.
9. *Isti sunt dies quos observare debetis*: This is the First Nocturn, Responsory for Passion Sunday, the fifth Sunday in Lent. The full text is: 'Isti sunt dies quos observare debetis temporibus suis quartadecima die ad vesperum pascha domini est et in quintadecima sollemnitatem celebrabitis altissimo domino'; 'These are the days to be observed of you in their seasons. In the fourteenth day at even is the Lord's Passover, and on the fifteenth day ye shall keep a Feast unto the Lord, the Moot High.'

10. *doubting Thomas*: See John 20:27–9: ‘deinde dicit Thomae infer digitum tuum huc et vide manus meas et adfer manum tuam et mitte in latus meum et noli esse incredulus sed fidelis respondit Thomas et dixit ei Dominus meus et Deus meus dicit ei Iesus quia vidisti me credidisti beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt’; ‘Then he saith to Thomas: Put in thy finger hither, and see my hands; and bring hither thy hand, and put it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing. Thomas answered, and said to him: My Lord, and my God. Jesus saith to him: Because thou hast seen me, Thomas, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and have believed.’
11. *chapter house*: This was the space in which members of religious communities met for deliberation, as well as for confession and to be punished for infringements of monastic rules. On the location of the chapterhouse see Fernie, *An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral*, p. 158, and Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close*, pp. 109–10. On choirboys in monasteries, see Susan Boynton, ‘Boy Singers in Medieval Monasteries and Cathedrals’, in *Young Choristers, 650–1700*, ed. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008), pp. 37–48, and ‘The Liturgical Role of Children in Monastic Customaries from the Central Middle Ages’, *Studia Liturgica* 28 (1998), pp. 194–209.
12. *speech is permitted*: On silence in monasteries, see Paul F. Gehl, *‘Competens silentium:* Varieties of Monastic Silence in the Medieval West’, *Viator* 18 (1987), pp. 125–60, esp. pp. 134–43. Benedictine monasteries did not require total silence, but rather regulated the ‘desire to utter words that were harmful to the disciplined development of the individual monk’, Scott G. Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism: The Cluniac Tradition c. 900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 13.
13. *pious theft*: These pious thefts were usually performed by religious institutions; see Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, rev. edn, 1990), esp. pp. 56–86.
14. *will be recounted in what follows*: See below, pp. 114–15.
15. *the exalted … will be exalted*: Thomas is here paraphrasing Luke 14:11: ‘quia omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur et qui se humiliat exaltabitur’; ‘Because every one that exalteth himself, shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted.’
16. *Friend, rise up*: This is a paraphrase based on Luke 14:8–10.
17. *I have seen … etc.*: See Psalm 36:35–6:‘vidi impium superexaltatum et elevatum sicut cedros Libani et transivi et ecce non erat’; I have seen the wicked highly exalted, and lifted up like the cedars of Libanus. And I passed by, and lo, he was not.’
18. *Be you humbled … the time of visitation*: See 1 Peter 5:6: ‘Humiliamini igitur sub potenti manu Dei, ut vos exaltet in tempore visitationis’; ‘Be you humbled therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in the time of visitation.’
19. *He hath put down … exalted the humble*: See Luke 1:52: ‘Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles’; ‘He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble.’
20. *Wednesday after Palm Sunday … the ides of April*: Thomas, usually meticulous in his handling of dates, is wrong here, as Wednesday after Palm Sunday 1150 fell on 12 April.

21. *the one on which … was celebrated*: That is, Easter, 16 April 1150.
22. *William the Sheriff*: See *Sibton Abbey Cartularies and Charters* I, ed. Philippa Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1985), pp. 7–17, and the discussion in the Note on the Text above, p. lvi.
23. *Peter Peverell*: See *Biographical Register*, p. 549. Peverell entered the Cathedral Priory thanks to an endowment made to the priory by his brother Sir Matthew Peverell, Lord of Great Melton, Norfolk Record Office DCN 44/80/1 and Register V, fol. 45v.
24. *as will be revealed later*: See below, pp. 139–40.
25. *Geoffrey of March*: A Geoffrey of March occurs in the resolution of a dispute over some land and a mill, settled at Westminster on 15 June 1203; see *Feet of Fines for the County of Norfolk for the Reign of King John, 1201–1215, For the County of Suffolk for the Reign of King John, 1199–1214*, ed. Barbara Dodwell, Pipe Roll Society Publications 70, new ser. 32 (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1958), no. 31, p. 15.
26. *the Geraldine brothers*: Warin and Henry FitzGerald were Chamberlains to Henry II between 1153 and 1170. See *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie*, ed. Léopold Delisle (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1909), pp. 382, 468–9.
27. *she could not … be cured by doctors*: There may be an echo here of Luke 8:43: 'et mulier quaedam erat in fluxu sanguinis ab annis duodecim quae in medicos erogaverat omnem substantiam suam nec ab ullo potuit curari'; 'And there was a certain woman having an issue of blood twelve years, who had bestowed all her substance on physicians, and could not be healed by any.'
28. *Richard, then sub-prior of Norwich*: On Richard de Ferrariis, see *Biographical Register*, p. 550, and below, note 38.
29. *the candle was made … as a votive offering*: See a similar case of making a candle to the sufferer's measure and taking it to the shrine in the hope of a cure, in *The Book of St Gilbert*, ed. Raymonde Foreville and Gillian Keir (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. civ–cv.
30. *sight gradually dimmed*: *Cecutientibus* (literally, 'his eyes became blind') is a word rarely used in classical or medieval Latin.
31. *Lady Mabel of Bec*: The daughter of Walter de Bec, who prospered under the patronage of the de Warennes. Lady Mabel held a knight's fee in Norfolk – from her father – as her dowry, and issued a charter in 1149. On the family, and especially Lady Mabel, see Paul A. Fox, 'A Study of Kinship and Patronage: The Rise of the House of Bek', *Medieval Prosopography* 24 (2003), pp. 171–93; esp. pp. 177, 181; for the family tree, see p. 175, and Elisabeth van Houts, 'The Warenne View of the Past, 1066–1203', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 26 (2004), pp. 103–21.
32. *they scraped the stone … power of divine grace*: This case is discussed in Carole Rawcliffe, 'Curing Bodies and Healing Souls: Pilgrimage and the Sick in Medieval East Anglia', in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 108–40; at p. 121.
33. *Richard of Lynn*: Noted in *Biographical Register*, p. 537, this is the sole reference to him. Monks of Norwich provided pastoral care for the urban parish in Lynn; see *English Episcopal Acta VI*, p. 14.
34. *devil in the shape of a pig*: Most occurrences of pigs in hagiographical accounts

of the period are associated with virtue and with the identification of holy places; see Hilary Powell, 'Walking and Talking with the Animals: The Role of Fauna in Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives', in *Animal Diversities*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Alice Choyke (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 2005), pp. 89–106; esp. pp. 94–102.

35. *envies the success … snares at their heels*: This echoes Genesis 3:15: 'inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem et semen tuum et semen illius ipsa conteret caput tuum et tu insidiaberis calcaneo eius'; 'I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed: she shall crush thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for her heel.'
36. *I love candles … the candles you have*: See note 28 above.
37. *stored in his book cupboard*: Books which were not in regular liturgical use were usually kept in the cloister. They were also kept in recesses in cloister walls, like those built in Norwich Cathedral Priory in the early fourteenth century. Free-standing and lockable cupboards were also used and are known from the late eleventh century; see Richard Gameson, 'The Medieval Library (to *c*. 1450)', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume I: To 1640*, ed. Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 13–50; esp. pp. 18–20.
38. *Richard de Ferrariis*: Richard (of Ferrers) died some time between 1158 and the early 1160s; see *The Heads of Religious Houses I*, p. 252, and *Biographical Register*, pp. 508–509.
39. *Denis the Chamberlain*: Denis, the monks' chamberlain, is also mentioned below, note 46.
40. *how William … headache, deafness and poor sight*: James and Jessopp preferred to leave 'this unsavoury case' untranslated in Jessopp and James, p. 146.
41. *William*: See *Biographical Register*, p. 572.
42. *Brichtiue*: There is no hospital of this name in the list of religious houses in Norwich, in David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses of England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), pp. 328–9, 381–2.
43. *afflicted by leprosy*: 'tanquam elephantino perculsa'; the term *elephantiasis* was occasionally used in this period in England to describe leprosy; see Carole Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 76–7.
44. *Ormesby*: A parish in Norfolk: Ormesby St Margaret with Scratby.
45. *Yarmouth*: The seaport for Norwich, itself a river port. Norwich Cathedral became closely linked to the town after Bishop Losinga built the church of St Nicholas and installed monks there to provide pastoral care; see *The First Register of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, ed. H. W. Saunders (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1939), fol. 3d33.
46. *Denis*: Denis is also mentioned above, note 39.
47. *Goscelin le Gros*: *Goscelinus Grossus* appears as a witness to two charters issued by Bishop Everard; see *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory* I, ed. Barbara Dodwell, Pipe Roll Society, new ser. 40 (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1974), no. 116 [of ?1141–3], p. 64 and no. 117 [1139–43], pp. 65–6. On charter no. 117 Goscelin le Gros appears alongside another witness, Simon de Nodariis, mentioned above, p. 64.
48. *Eustace the Moneyer*: On moneyers in this period, see Martin Allen, *Mints and Money in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp.

6–9, 94–6, and Ian Stewart, 'The English and Norman Mints', in *A New History of the Royal Mint*, ed. C. E. Challis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 68–75. On surviving coins struck by Eustace, see Martin Allen, 'The Mints and Moneyers of England and Wales, 1066–1158', *British Numismatic Journal* 82 (2012), pp. 54–120; at p. 113. A coin struck by Eustace during Stephen's reign (1135–54) has survived and is currently held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.1148–2001 (see p. lxiv above).

49. *gout*: The word *gutta* is perplexing. It perplexed Jessopp, too; see CUL Add 7481 J56 (11 April 1894) and J58 (24 April 1894).
50. *Katherine*: St Katherine was a very popular medieval martyr, alongside the Virgin Mary and St Mary Magdalene. On her cult in England in the twelfth century, see Katherine J. Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), esp. pp. 52–9.
51. *Bartholomew of Creake*: Bartholomew de Crec was named after North Creake, a village in the north-west of Norfolk. He lived in the late 1130s and was the descendant of Turstin fitz Guy, who held lands in Norfolk from Hugh Bigod; see K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066–1166, II. Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), p. 415. A grant by Bartholomew of Creake is mentioned some time between 1171 and 1174 in a charter by Bishop Turbe; see *English Episcopal Acta VI*, p. 56.
52. *Tudenham*: North Tuddenham, a village in Norfolk.
53. *Wighton*: A village in Norfolk.

BOOK FOUR

1. *Ralph the Moneyer*: See Book Three, note 48 above.
2. *How the martyr … mother and son*: The words 'and cured a mother and son' are omitted in Jessopp and James, p. 165.
3. *made his death … of the Lord*: See Psalm 115:6: 'pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius'; 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.'
4. *to the honour of the Holy Trinity*: Norwich Cathedral was dedicated to the Trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, so the prayers were offered to the Trinity and not to William of Norwich.
5. *She had been suffering … little or no good*: An echo of Mark 5:25–6: 'et mulier quae erat in profluvio sanguinis annis duodecim et fuerat multa perpessa a conpluribus medicis et erogaverat omnia sua nec quicquam profecerat sed magis deterius habebat'; 'And a woman who was under an issue of blood twelve years and had suffered many things from many physicians; and had spent all that she had, and was nothing the better, but rather worse'; and Luke 8:43: 'et mulier quaedam erat in fluxu sanguinis ab annis duodecim quae in medicos erogaverat omnem substantiam suam nec ab ullo potuit curari'; 'And there was a certain woman having an issue of blood twelve years, who had bestowed all her substance on physicians, and could not be healed by any.'
6. *Postwick*: A village in Norfolk.
7. *In those days*: An echo of Luke 2:1: 'factum est autem in diebus illis exiit edictum a Caesare Augusto ut describeretur universus orbis'; 'And it came to pass, that in those days there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that the

whole world should be enrolled.'

8. *William*: William de Chesney, the brother of John de Chesney (see Book One, note 43, above), became sheriff after his brother's death, probably in 1146; see Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, p. 62; see also Simon Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), pp. 145–6.
9. *Richard, Dean of Bedingham*: He acted as attorney in the royal court (*curia regis*) in 1194. See Jessopp and James, p. xxxvi.
10. *out of fear … of St Andrew*: On the development of the law of sanctuary, see Kevin Meek, 'Giving Place unto Wrath: The Practice of Ecclesiastical Sanctuary in Medieval England, 1000–1277', PhD dissertation submitted to the University of Cambridge, 2003. Churches and churchyards were most often recognized as places of sanctuary, but even a roadside cross could be claimed as such (see pp. 3–38). I am most grateful to Martin Brett for introducing me to this interesting dissertation.
11. *And also my shoe … for the time being*: It is impossible to establish how news of it reached Wimborne Minster in Dorset, but a list of its 'Reliques of Saints' (in an unidentified Latin manuscript still extant in the nineteenth century) included 'One of the shoes of St William of … wich'; see John Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 3rd edn, ed. W. Shipp and J. W. Hodson (London: J. B. Nichols & Sons, 1868; repr. East Ardsley: E. P. Publishing, 1973), p. 225. I am grateful to Julian Luxford, who brought this item to my attention.
12. *Prior Richard*: See *Biographical Register*, p. 551.
13. *casket*: The word is *scrinium*, a 'box' or 'casket', and when it contains relics it becomes a 'reliquary'.
14. *William*: The sacrist; See above, p. 93.
15. *not to take … about to receive*: On this episode, see Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, p. 350.
16. *thanks to … blessed martyr*: See above, pp. 51–2.
17. *she was making … Saint James and Saint Gilles*: On English pilgrims to Compostela, see D. W. Lomax, 'The First English Pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), pp. 165–75; and on pilgrimage to Saint-Gilles in the eleventh century, see L. Musset, 'Recherches sur les pèlerins et les pèlerinages en Normandie jusqu'à la Première Croisade', *Annales de Normandie* 12 (1962), pp. 127–50, at pp. 138–9; for a tale of pilgrimage to Saint-Gilles, see the account in *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey* I, ed. Thomas Arnold, Rolls Series (London: HMSO, 1890), p. 178. I am most grateful to Susan Raich for discussions in which she shared her expertise on travel and seafaring in the twelfth century.
18. *Norman Sea*: Seas were often called after those who lived on the land along their shores, hence, the *mare Normannicum*. In a late twelfth-century text on sea piloting (*De viis maris*, attributed to Roger of Howden) the sea crossed from England to Brittany was called the 'mare Britanicum' and that by Kent the 'mare Kentium'; see P. Gautier Dalché, *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde: Une 'géographie' urbaine et maritime de la fin du XIIe siècle (Roger de Howden?)* (Geneva: Droz, 2005), pp. 178, 181.
19. *to produce … who were thirsty*: There is an echo here of Numbers 20:11:

'cumque elevasset Moses manum percutiens virga bis silicem egressae sunt aquae largissimae ita ut et populus biberet et iumenta'; 'And when Moses had lifted up his hand, and struck the rock twice with the rod, there came forth water in great abundance, so that the people and their cattle drank.'

20. *Hastedun*: This may be the village of Hasketon in Suffolk.
21. *Tivetshall*: A village in Norfolk.
22. *Richard of Bedingham … mention above*: See note 9, above.
23. *Eustace the Moneyer*: See Book Three, note 48 above.

BOOK FIVE

1. *the community of monks … such a multitude*: On the challenges presented to monastic communities by the gathering pilgrims and bystanders, see Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, pp. 261–3.
2. *Giulfus*: See *Biographical Register*, pp. 514–15.
3. *at midday … resting in the dormitory*: See David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edn, 1966), pp. 714–15. From the tenth-century summer dinner took place at noon, afternoon rest between 1–2.30 p.m., followed by none; see also *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. David Knowles and revised by Christopher N. L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. xx–xxv.
4. *singing the matins … Virgin Mary*: The Office of Our Lady, introduced 'gradually and sporadically' in the twelfth century, first at Bury; see Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, p. 540; on monastic Marian offices, see Sally Elizabeth Roper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure and Content of the Monastic Votive Office, c. 950–1540* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), pp. 57, 71–2.
5. *Helgheton*: A town in Norfolk, near Loddon.
6. *shepherd*: *Opilio*, a classical and biblical term, as in Genesis 38:12: 'evolutis autem multis diebus mortua est filia Suae uxor Iudae qui post luctum consolatione suscepta ascendebat ad tonsores ovium suarum ipse et Hiras opilio gregis Odollamita in Thamnas'; 'And after many days were past, the daughter of Sue the wife of Juda died: and when he had taken comfort after his mourning, he went up to Thamnas, to the shearers of his sheep, he and Hiras the Odollamite the shepherd of his flock.'
7. *Adam … our bishop's steward*: See *English Episcopal Acta VI*, p. xlix.
8. *Va[letreius]*: The parchment is torn here.
9. *Godwin … mentioned before*: See above, Book One, note 18, p. 207.
10. *teasel*: See above, Book One, note 28, p. 209.
11. *He who does … what he desires*: 'qui non dat quod amat, non suscipit quod desiderat.' This is a Latin proverb, current in the twelfth century; see *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi: Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, ed. Hans Walther, Carmina medii aevi posterioris latina ii (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), no. 91, p. 222.
12. *Robert*: This may refer to Robert, Archdeacon of Lincoln, who occurs between 1141/5 and 1169, and who succeeded William of Bayeux (see Book Six, note 20, p. 240); see Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae II*, p. 25.
13. *Whitwell*: A village in Norfolk, a mile south-west of Reepham.

14. *put him in shackles and imprisoned him*: On the theme of imprisonment and liberation from shackles in miracle tales, see Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination, c.1150–1400* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), pp. 51–7. See also St Edmund of Bury's help in such cases, *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey* I, pp. 187–9, 204–207, and that of St Gilbert of Sempringham in *The Book of St Gilbert*, pp. 277–9.
15. *guards were … by sleep*: An echo of Matthew 28:4: 'prae timore autem eius exterriti sunt custodes et facti sunt velut mortui'; 'And for fear of him, the guards were struck with terror, and became as dead men.'
16. *delivered*: The word *parturivit* is used also in the sense of 'give birth'.
17. *I had copied it out with my own hands*: Monk-scribes copied books for shared or general usage, but here Thomas refers to a book he copied for personal use. Some scribes left colophons with autobiographical details, but this was rare before the fifteenth century; for some examples, see Richard Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, 2002), pp. 17–18. I am most grateful to Nigel Morgan and Tessa Webber for their sage advice on this issue.
18. *the church of St Michael*: A church of St Michael existed on the plot used for the construction of Norwich Cathedral, at which time it was demolished. There were several churches dedicated to St Michael in Norwich: St Michael Conesford, St Michael Coslany, St Michael at Plea and St Michael Thorn (St Michael at Tombland had been demolished by *c*. 1100); see *Atlas of Historic Towns* II, ed. M. D. Lobel (London: Scolar Press, 1975), p. 24.
19. *Hempstead*: A village in Norfolk.
20. *Needham*: A village in Norfolk.
21. *Flordon*: A village in Norfolk.
22. *the Thursday before Easter*: Maundy Thursday.
23. *Sebald, son of Brunstan*: Sebald is recorded as a donor of land in Norwich to the Abbey of Saint Benet at Holme, when his nephew joined the community as a monk; see *The Register of the Abbey of St Benet of Holme*, ed. J. R. West, Norfolk Record Society (1932), no. 177, p. 99.
24. *Grimston*: A village in Norfolk.
25. *The doctors … not at all*: A possible echo of Mark 5:25–6, see Book Four, note 5 above.
26. *Adam the Clerk*: Adam of Yarmouth, Clerk of the Signet under Henry I, and later a justice itinerant; see Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, p. 160.
27. *Peter Peverell*: See Book Three, note 22 above.
28. *Thomas the precentor*: Served *c*. 1146–72; see *Biographical Register*, p. 564. On the role of the monastic cantor, see Margot E. Fassler, 'The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation', *Early Music History* 5 (1985), pp. 29–51; esp. pp. 42–51.
29. *pious boy … mother's sufferings*: William's piety may echo the classical concept of *pietas* as a devotion prevailing between parents and children, and exemplified by Aeneas' actions in saving his father from Troy. See *Aeneid* I, line 305, *Opera*, p. 112. On this theme see Nicholas Moseley, 'Pius Aeneas', *Classical Journal* 20 (1924–5), pp. 387–400.
30. *treasure of the highest king*: I have not been able to identify this citation.
31. *brave … bravely*: Thomas intended this repetition for effect, *virilis* and *virilius*.

32. *Of the Spring*: *De fonte*.
33. *entrails*: The word *renes* means 'kidneys', but its use was much influenced by its biblical and ecclesiastical usage to mean 'inner parts'.
34. *second book*: Actually, in Book Three, p. 96 above.
35. *tired by the chase we call a halt*: See Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. J. E. King (London: Heinemann Ltd, 1966), 3.15.33, pp. 266–7: 'abstrahit ab acerbis cogitationibus, hebetem facit aciem ad miserias contemplandas: a quibus cum cecinit receptui'; '[Reason] withdraws the soul from morose reflections, blunts its keenness in dwelling upon wretchedness, and sounding a retreat from such thoughts.'

BOOK SIX

1. *restoration of sight … the insane*: Echoing Matthew 11:5: 'caeci vident claudi ambulant leprosi mundantur surdi audiunt mortui resurgunt pauperes evangelizantur'; 'The blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead rise again, the poor have the gospel preached to them.' John of Salisbury also used this list with reference to the miracles of St Thomas Becket: 'In the place where Thomas suffered, and where he lay the night through, before the high altar, awaiting burial, and where he was buried at last, the palsied are cured, the blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the lame walk, folk suffering from fevers are cured, the lepers are cleansed,' *The Letters of John of Salisbury* II, Letter 305, pp. 736–7.
2. *Reginald of Warenne*: On Reginald [Rainald II] see *Domesday Descendants*, pp. 776–8.
3. *returned home … restored to health*: One of Reginald's daughters may have become a nun of Carrow. Was the daughter who received the cure inspired to join the religious life?
4. *St Michael, Conisford, in Norwich*: See *Atlas of Historic Towns* II, pp. 8–10.
5. *Belaugh*: A village in Norfolk, on the River Bure.
6. *there, there*: This repetition of *illuc* may be a scribal error or may be intended to suggest the tenor of the insane woman's speech.
7. *they bound her arms … feet with her belt*: They used the veil and the belt to restrain her.
8. *two half-days and one night*: 'duobus semis diebus et una nocte continuo', that is, twenty-four hours/over two days.
9. *Haughley*: A village in Suffolk.
10. *Lothingland*: At the time, an island on the Broads, near Mutford.
11. *parish of St Edmund*: A chapel of St Edmund is later attested as dependent on the church of St Margaret in Lynn; see *The Making of King's Lynn: A Documentary Survey*, ed. Dorothy M. Owen, Records of Social and Economic History, new series 9 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1984), no. 121, p. 132.
12. *Philip de Bella Arbore*: I have been unable to identify Philip. The archbishop mentioned later would have been Hillin von Fallemanien (1152–69).
13. *Furies*: Furies commonly appear in medieval literature and are often invoked as a rhetorical means of 'elevating' the text (as is the case here), rather than as active characters. They appear by the twelfth century in manuscripts, such as the First and Second Vatican Mythographers. They were best known

(sometimes as Harpies) through the *Aeneid*; see Ronald E. Pepin, *The Vatican Mythographers* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), pp. 54, 108. I am grateful to Paul Strohm and Rita Copeland for their illuminating comments.

14. *dire wrath does not see right*: This 'proverb' does not appear in the register of medieval proverbs, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii ac recentioris aevi*, 3 vols., ed. Paul Gerhard Schmidt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982–6).
15. *Eugenius*: Eugene III was pope from 1145 to 1153.
16. *exile and pilgrimage … holy place repaired*: The chronicler Orderic Vitalis (1075–*c*. 1142) makes a suggestive association between penitents, prisoners and pilgrims in his denunciation of the fashions spread by the court in the time of William Rufus (*c*. 1056–1100); see *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* IV, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 188–9: 'Olim penitentes et capti ac peregrini usualiter intonsi erant, longasque barbas gestabant, indicioque tali penitentiam seu captionem uel peregrinationem spectantibus pretendebant'; 'Up to now penitents and prisoners and pilgrims have normally been unshaven, with long beards, and in this way have publicly proclaimed their condition of penance or captivity or pilgrimage.'
17. *shrine of St Brendan*: At Clonfert, a village in County Galway, Ireland.
18. *vagabonds*: *Girovagi* were wandering monks, referred to by St John Cassian (*c*. 360–435) and in the Rule of St Benedict, see Christopher Brooke, *The Rise and Fall of the Medieval Monastery* (London: Folio Society, 2006), p. 268, n.5.
19. *Reepham*: A village in Lincolnshire in the deaconry of Lawress, archdeaconry of Stow; see *The Valuation of Norwich*, ed. W. E. Lunt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), p. 251.
20. *William, Archdeacon of Lincoln*: William of Bayeux, Archdeacon of Stow, occurs *c*. 1133 and *c*. 1147; see Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae II*, pp. 24–5.
21. *Bury St Edmunds*: Known here by the Anglo-Saxon place name Bedrichesworth, which was still used in the twelfth century; see W. W. Skeat, *The Place-Names of Suffolk*, Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 46 (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 8, 116–18.
22. *God's wisdom is a great deep*: Psalm 35:7: 'iustitia tua sicut montes Dei iudicia tua abyssus multa homines et iumenta salvabis Domine'; 'Thy justice is as the mountains of God, thy judgements are a great deep. Men and beasts thou wilt preserve, O Lord.'
23. *How incomprehensible … unsearchable his ways*: Romans 11:33: 'o altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei quam inconprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius et investigabiles viae eius'; 'O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are his judgements, and how unsearchable his ways!'
24. *Langham*: A village in Norfolk.
25. *Wortham*: A village in Suffolk.
26. *Robert of Wales*: Note another person from Wales, as Thomas may have been.
27. *Brandney*: *Brandeneia* in the Latin, but no such place name exists. Perhaps a corruption of Brand End in Lincolnshire.
28. *Gainsborough*: A town in Lincolnshire on the River Trent.
29. *under custody … for a long time*: On captivity, see Jean Dunbabin, *Captivity and Imprisonment in Medieval Europe, c. 1000–1300* (Basingstoke: Palgrave

Macmillan, 2002), esp. pp. 32–97.

30. *Pope Adrian*: The only Englishman to have held this office, Adrian was pope from 1154 to 1159.
31. *Mildenhall*: A market town in Suffolk.
32. *Harvey the Baker*: Harvey is also mentioned above, p. 127.
33. *Blythburgh*: A village in Suffolk.
34. *wild with mounting anger … his numerous strokes*: This may echo Virgil, *Aeneid*, XII, ll. 713–14: 'dat gemitus tellus; tum crebros ensibus ictus congeminant, fors et uirtus miscentur in unum'; 'Earth groans and their frequent sword blows double; chance and courage mingle into one,' *The Aeneid of Virgil*, p. 328.
35. *Swafield*: A village in Norfolk.
36. *She was gripped … profited her not at all*: 1 Cor. 13:3: 'et si distribuero in cibos pauperum omnes facultates meas et si tradidero corpus meum ut ardeam caritatem autem non habuero nihil mihi prodest'; 'And if I should distribute all my goods to feed the poor, and if I should deliver my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.'
37. *Aylsham*: A market town in Norfolk, on the River Bure.
38. *gladly take possession of the welcoming sound of the seashore*: The whole scene, especially this phrase, 'litoris optati grata potiuntur arena', is inspired by the *Aeneid* I: 'ac magno telluris amore egressi optata potiuntur Troes harena et sale tabentis artus in litore ponunt', *Opera*, ibid., lines 171–3, p. 108; 'The Trojans, longing so to touch the land, now disembark to gain the wished-for sands. They stretch their salt-soaked limbs along the beach,' *The Aeneid of Virgil*, p. 7, lines 240–2.
39. *Wymondham*: A market town in Norfolk.
40. *Charlton*: There are a number of parishes south of Norwich whose names include 'Carleton'.
41. *everyone was asleep*: Like the Roman soldiers who were miraculously awestruck at Christ's tomb, as if dead; see Matthew 28:4, 13.
42. *Simon de Nodariis*: See Book Two, notes 59 and 61 above, pp. 225–6.
43. *Robert Gresley*: The illustrious man may be Robert Grelley, who died c. 1154, and who left a son, Albert; see *Domesday Descendants*, p. 998.
44. *a falcon*: On falconry in Anglo-Norman England, see *Three Anglo-Norman Treatises on Falconry*, ed. Tony Hunt (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2009).

BOOK SEVEN

1. *The chapters of the seventh book begin*: There are in fact more chapters in this book than appear in Thomas's list of chapters.
2. *we will still … rule of moderation*: In the sense of 2 Corinthians 10:13: 'nos autem non in inmensum gloriabimur sed secundum mensuram regulae quam mensus est nobis Deus mensuram pertingendi usque ad vos'; 'But we will not glory beyond our measure; but according to the measure of the rule, which God hath measured to us, a measure to reach even unto you.'
3. *Reimbert*: This knight must have served Walter de Lucy, who was abbot of Battle Abbey between 1139 and 1171; see *The Heads of Religious Houses I*, p. 29. Reinbert (with an 'n') is a common name among the family of vassals of the Count of Eu, neighbouring Battle Abbey's lands; a forefather at the Norman

Conquest was Reinbert, the count's steward; see Eleanor Searle, *Lordship and Community: Battle Abbey and Its Banlieu, 1066–1538* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), pp. 51–5.

4. *Haddiscoe*: A village in Norfolk.
5. *Crachesford*: A family of this name lived in Tuttington in the Hundred of South Erpingham in the early thirteenth century; see Francis Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* VI (London: William Miller, 1807), p. 349.
6. *Roger de Scales*: A Roger des Scales occurs in a Norfolk fine imposed at Westminster on 1 July 1203, in connection with half a knight's fee; see *Feet of Fines*, no. 416, pp. 198–9.
7. *Thornage*: A village in Norfolk, within the bishop's lordship.
8. *disease they call cancer*: *a canceri*; on breast cancer in early modern Europe, see Marjo Kaartinen, *Breast Cancer in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013).
9. *Belaugh*: A village in Norfolk, not far from Horsham St Faith and Newton St Faith. Horsham Priory was a cell – an affiliated institution – of Conques Abbey in southern France; it was a local focus for the cult of Saint Faith; see *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 68; Sheriff William confirmed his parents' foundation of this house; see *Sibton Abbey Cartularies and Charters* I, p. 16.
10. *Saint Faith*: On the cult of Saint Faith (Foy), see *The Book of Sainte Foy, and the Song of Sainte Foy*, trans. Pamela Sheingorn and Robert L. A. Clark (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995). In Norfolk the cult was promoted at Horsham St Faith, founded by the family of John de Chesney, sheriff at the time of William's death; see above, Book One, note 43, p. 211.
11. *Repps*: A parish near Cromer; there are North and South Repps.
12. *Lindsey*: A district in today's north Lincolnshire.
13. *William, our dean of Norwich*: See p. 32 above.
14. *Bondo Hoc*: This is a distinctly Scandinavian name: Bondi, turned in Latin into Bondo; see John Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk: A Survey Based on Medieval Records and Place-Names* (Uppsala: Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy, 1994), pp. 98–107.
15. *podagra*: Gout, a rheumatic, arthritic complaint.
16. *Taverham*: A village in Norfolk.
17. *Rockland*: I take *Rochesburch* to mean Rocklands, a cluster of villages in Norfolk.
18. *civeria*: A hand-barrow, litter or stretcher (cf. the French word *civière*). Travelling such a distance is remarkable, even in a fine vehicle such as this. But people did travel in search of cures; on pilgrimage itineraries, see Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1977), especially chapter 3.
19. *Hadeston*: A hamlet of Bunwell, a parish in Norfolk.
20. *Thetford*: A town in Norfolk.
21. *Norway*: Scandinavian merchants enjoyed privileges in London, but also traded from other ports and in East Anglia; see *The Making of King's Lynn: A Documentary Survey*, ed. Dorothy M. Owen, Records of Social and Economic History, new series 9 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1984), p. 42. Norway was a source of luxury goods from the wild, such as furs, hawks and falcons, and timber too; see M. M. Postan, *The*

Medieval Economy and Society: An Economic History of Britain in the Middle Ages (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972), p. 189.

22. *the port called 'Charelfluot'*: The late twelfth-century *De viis maris* mentions the harbour of Carleflet ('Deinde est portus qui dicitur Carleflet', Dalché, *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde*, p. 176) on the north Norfolk coast, between Blakeney and Foulness. A nearby sandbar is mentioned, perhaps this is where the ship got stuck. I am extremely grateful to Susan Raich for her help in identifying this place, which has no modern equivalent, in an area whose contours have changed a great deal since the twelfth century. On the *De viis maris*, see Paul Hughes, 'Roger of Howden's Sailing Directions for the English Coast', *Historical Research* 85 (2012), pp. 576–96.
23. *Chapel of Saint William in the Wood*: The locations associated with William's body in Thorpe Wood attracted interest and drew pilgrims, so that in April 1168 a chapel was consecrated there. The place continued to be respected, even after the Reformation. The antiquary Francis Blomefield described the remains of such a chapel in the eighteenth century: '[…] upon *Mushold heath*; it was an ancient parochial chapel [St Catherine's], founded about the time of the Conquest, and was afterwards reconsecrated to the honour of St William of *Norwich*'; see Francis Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* IV (London: William Miller, 1806), p. 425; see also John M. McCulloh, 'Unofficial Elements in the Cult of St William of Norwich', *Hagiographica* 13 (2006), pp. 194–5. For a mistaken identification; as St Catherine's Chapel, see Edwin J. Rose and Alan J. Davison, ' "St Catherine's Thorpe" – the Birth and Death of a Myth', *Norfolk Archaeology* 40 (1988), pp. 179–81.
24. *octave of Easter, the fifth calends of May [27 April]*: Has Thomas got his dates wrong? It was not 1168 but 1158 when the octave of Easter was 27 April. In 1168 the octave of Easter was 7 April.
25. *unhappy one*: On *planctus*, see above Book One, note 62, p. 214.
26. *Mary of Egypt*: St Mary of Egypt's feast – celebrated in the West on 2 April – appears in almost half of the calendars surviving from Anglo-Saxon England, with a widespread cult that continued after the Norman Conquest; see Simon Lavery, 'The Story of Mary the Egyptian in Medieval England', in *The Legend of Mary of Egypt in Medieval Insular Hagiography*, ed. Erich Poppe and Bianca Ross (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), pp. 113–48.
27. *William of Hastings*: See Book Two, note 57 above.
28. *Batilda*: See Batilda's case, p. 51 above (named Botilda there).
29. *has committed to writing*: This letter is marred by several grammatical errors and seems to have been written by a different author than the surrounding text. Thomas or his scribe may have found the letter hard to read and thus to copy. This supports the claim that the letter is a genuine communication with Thomas from a religious house to which William's fame had spread *c*. 1168, the most recent date mentioned in this part of the text.
30. *Adam of Crombe*: The advowson of Hill Croom church belonged to Pershore Abbey. Adam de Crombe occurs in *The Red Book of the Exchequer* I, ed. Hubert Hall (London: HMSO, 1896), 8 Richard I (1196–7), p. 108, holding one and a half-knight fees ('j militem et dimidium'). Croome and Crombe are used interchangeably.
31. *Robert*: The reference here may be to William's brother, Robert, who became a

monk of the Cathedral Priory, as mentioned above, pp. 28, 60.

32. *Misereatur vestri … Confiteor deo*: 'Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus, et dimissis peccatis vestris, perducat vos ad vitam aeternam' ('May almighty God have mercy on thee and, having forgiven thee thy sins, bring thee to life everlasting'), after the *Confiteor* – 'Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, beatae Mariae semper Virgini' ('I confess to almighty God, to the Blessed Mary, ever virgin') – a penitential prayer which was added to the Mass in the eleventh century; see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982, repr. 2004), pp. 21, 83–4, and Joanne M. Pierce, 'The Evolution of the *ordo missae* in the Early Middle Ages', in *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays*, ed. Lizette Larson-Miller (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), pp. 3–24.
33. *a golden coin*: The *besant* was a gold coin given the silver value of 2 shillings or 24 pennies in the thirteenth century. Gold coinage was not in wide circulation in the twelfth century and was often reserved for transactions rich in symbolic value, such as almsgiving. On the use of coins at shrines and as offerings in this period, see Giles E. M. Gasper and Svein H. Gullbekk, 'An Intimate Encounter with English Coinage in the High Middle Ages: The Case of Wulfric of Haselbury', *British Numismatic Journal* 83 (2013), pp. 112–19.
34. *the peace*: The *pax* was a plaque made of metal or wood, which represented the peace of the community of Christians, and was passed through the congregation during the Mass; see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 144–7.
35. *sacrament of the body … right-believing people*: To receive communion in both bread and wine became the privilege of priests and some monks and nuns in the course of the thirteenth century; see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 70–1.
36. *God the Father … Father and Son*: This echoes, but does not cite, the Apostles' Creed.
37. *Adhere to God … are of God*: An echo of St Paul's Epistle, 1 Corinthians 2:11: 'quis enim scit hominum quae sint hominis nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est ita et quae Dei sunt nemo cognovit nisi Spiritus Dei'; 'For what man knoweth the things of a man, but the spirit of a man that is in him? So the things also that are of God no man knoweth, but the Spirit of God.'
38. *for ever and ever. Amen*: See Revelation 7:12: 'dicentes amen benedictio et claritas et sapientia et gratiarum actio et honor et virtus et fortitudo Deo nostro in saecula saeculorum amen'; 'Saying: Amen. Benediction, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, honour, and power, and strength to our God for ever and ever. Amen.'
39. *many and varied mansions*: Referring to John 14:2: 'in domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt si quo minus dixissem vobis quia vado parare vobis locum'; 'In my Father's house there are many mansions. If not, I would have told you: because I go to prepare a place for you.' Saint Augustine commented on this text when writing about infant baptism; see Augustine, 'De natura et origine animae libri quattuor', in *Opera* VIII/I, ed. K. F. Urba and Joseph Zycha (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1913), pp. 371–2; for an English translation, see Augustine, 'On the Soul and its Origin', in *Saint Augustin: Anti-Pelagian Writing*, trans. Peter Holmes (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1971), 3.11.15, p. 349.
40. *the glorious tomb … archbishop Thomas*: Archbishop Becket was murdered in 1170 and a cult arose at his tomb, even before his canonization in 1173. See

Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket* (London: Arnold, 2004).

41. *as if pricked by an awl*: A similar case to that of the monk Peter Peverell, see pp. 84, 139.
42. *Ospringe*: A village in Kent, near Faversham and on the road to London.
43. *hurried to Bury*: On pilgrimages to Bury St Edmunds, see *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey* I, especially the additions by Osbert of Clare, pp. 152–207.
44. *he moved by foot … Norwich on the next*: This case is mentioned (among other pilgrimages for cure) in Rawcliffe, 'Curing Bodies and Healing Souls', p. 117.

Acknowledgements

When I was a PhD student in Cambridge, my supervisor Christopher Brooke suggested to me that all medieval historians should undertake the edition of a text at least once. Of course, he is the distinguished editor of many texts and he has helped many others in their editorial labours. The translation of a medieval text – and in this case, translation anew – is a unique opportunity to shape the canon of historical knowledge, to bring a work to the attention of teachers, students and those of broad historical interests. This is particularly true when preparing a translation for the Penguin Classics series, knowing that it will be available to many readers all over the world for many years to come. I have aimed, therefore, to prepare *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich* for ease of use and reading. I have tried to avoid clutter in the notes, and yet to assist readers by identifying biblical and classical citations, persons and places, and to explain technical terms, ranging from the medical to the liturgical.

Any historian embarked on the study of so infamous a text as *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich* requires a great deal of advice and support. I have sought to situate the work in its time – the third quarter of the twelfth century, under the rule of kings Stephen and Henry II – and its place, Norwich in Norfolk, England. Although *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich* was written in a religious community, it involves and considers the hopes, habits and doubts of townspeople and villagers, laypeople of varying degrees of social comfort and substance. In my aim to identify and understand them I was frequently helped by those who know the region's history best: Claire Daunton, David King, Rob Liddiard, Elizabeth Rutledge, Paul Rutledge and Nicholas Vincent. I also received generous advice on life in Anglo-Norman England from David Bates, Stephen Baxter, Elizabeth van Houts and John Hudson. Since *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich* was written by a monk, I turned on occasion to experts on monastic life: Julie Barrau, Janet Burton, Sarah Hamilton, Kati Ihnat and Tom Licence. As the rich texture of *The Life and Passion* unfolded

ever more challengingly, I became interested in medieval rhetoric and was guided in this fascinating field by Rita Copeland, whose advice was always given swiftly and with great generosity.

Editing and translating the sole surviving version of *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich* meant dealing with a manuscript that is enigmatic in the extreme, the properties of which were not explored to the full by its Victorian discoverer and editors. In unravelling its mysteries I learned a great deal from time spent poring over the manuscript with Connie Berman, Paul Binski, Christopher Brooke, Michael Gullick, Eyal Poleg, Rodney M. Thomson and Tessa Webber. It was particularly satisfying to share my interests with Margaret Coombe and Richard Ovenden, who have worked on aspects of the manuscript.

Each of these scholars has made a unique and important contribution to this book, and helped shape the interpretation of it. Once I was convinced that the manuscript was made in a Cistercian monastery, I benefited from the expertise of those who know the life and literary production of that religious order best: David Bell, Helen Birkett, E. Rozanne Elder, Michael Gullick, Beverly Kienzle, Anne Lawrence and Jennifer M. Sheppard. Since the *Life and Passion* aims at verisimilitude, its author enjoyed describing details of the work and family lives of its protagonists. Highly technical questions – ranging from the location of medieval cesspits to the process of tanning leather or trade routes with Norway – were answered with great erudition and willingness by Richard Britnell, Jim Bolton, James Carley, Matthew Champion, Sue Edgington, Roy Flechner, Susan Irvine, Chris King, Jon Parry, Sarah Rees Jones, Susan Raich, Nicholas Vincent, Chris Wilson and George Younge. A number of colleagues and friends devoted time and care in reading the introduction to this translation, offering a wide range of expert perspectives: Matthew Champion, Peter Denley, Emma Dillon, Kati Ihnat, Ira Katznelson, Ora Limor, Ruth Nisse, Eyal Poleg, Irven Resnick, Gareth Stedman Jones, Elizabeth van Houts, Nicholas Vincent and Milan Žonca.

As my study of *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich* progressed I was able to present it to audiences and to benefit from questions and comments. I enjoyed such occasions at the universities of Bristol, Durham (where Lynda and David Rollason offered particularly interesting insights), Exeter, Florida (at Gainesville), Mainz, Manchester, Minnesota (Minneapolis), Oxford, Saint Thomas (St Paul) and at the Centre for East Anglian Studies at the University of East Anglia.

I am grateful to the gracious and helpful staff of Cambridge University Library, where my work on this manuscript was facilitated in countless ways over five years. Patrick Zutshi, the university archivist, was particularly encouraging from the start and helped me secure the library's permission to make my transcription of the work in Latin, available electronically at http://yvc.history.qmul.ac.uk/passio.html. Ros Grooms, who is charged with the archives of Cambridge University Press at the university library, allowed me to explore the circumstances of the text's first publication in 1896.

My ideas about *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich* were profoundly shaped by the work of the network 'Youth, Violence and Cult' in three workshops funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council in 2009/10. The group gathered on those occasions to learn about the prominent features which the work combined: Christian ideas about Jews; the imputation of violent intentions and actions to Jews and injury to children; the responses of communities to violence; and the enshrinement of its memories in a local cult. Members contributed ideas and knowledge to my understanding of the world into which *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich* was made: John Arnold, Anthony Bale, David Bates, Paul Binski, Heather Blurton, Susan Boynton, David Carpenter, Hugh Doherty, T. A. Heslop, Kati Ihnat, Yosi Israeli, Tom Licence, Ora Limor, Sara Lipton, Julian Luxford, Bill MacLehose, Jinty Nelson, Carole Rawcliffe, Emily Rose, Robert Stacey, Rosa Vidal, Nicholas Vincent and Simon Yarrow.

Being an historian at Queen Mary University of London is a privilege. It is not only home to many wonderful scholars, but also an environment where my research has always been encouraged from inception to realization. My colleague Sue Edgington helped with numerous queries about twelfth-century Latin. It was particularly poignant to study and discuss *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich* – the first known narrative in which Jews were cast as child-murderers – close to what became centres of dense Jewish life and culture in the East End of London. At Queen Mary I am daily reminded of the dramas of continuity and change, dramas which historians are obliged to chronicle and understand.

By editing and translating the *Life and Passion* I have brought to fruition a project conceived in the 1990s by Willis Johnson with the encouragement of Michael Lapidge. When it became clear that Willis would not be able to undertake the project, he offered me the opportunity to do so, together with his microfilm, transcription and encouragement. This was a generous gift indeed and I hope Willis will

approve of the resulting volume. I am enormously grateful to Simon Winder, who believed in the project, to Ian Pindar, who expertly treated the text for publication, and to Anna Hervé, who supported the bringing of the book to press.

Finally, I thank from the bottom of my heart two extraordinary scholars of the Middle Ages, who scrutinized the text and its notes and who offered the greatest of gifts – time and attention – to this translation: Christopher Brooke and David d'Avray. They did so with the generosity of friends, but also with a realization of how important it is to get right any attempt to understand the medieval legacy of *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich*.

Miri Rubin
Cambridge, 2013

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www.penguin.com

Translated from manuscript Cambridge University Library Additional 3037
First published in Penguin Classics 2014

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Cover: Panel from a rood screen depicting St William of Norwich with three nails in his head, made around 1450-1470 (photograph © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

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ISBN: 978-0-141-97053-0